

**EXAMINATION OF THE PUBLIC POLICY
PROCESS IN LIBYA**

Abuagela M. AHMED

Ph.D. Thesis

2012

EXAMINATION OF THE PUBLIC POLICY PROCESS IN LIBYA

Abuagela M. AHMED

School of Built Environment

University of Salford, Salford, UK

**Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, December 2012**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	IV
LIST OF FIGURES.....	V
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	VII
DECLARATION	IX
DEDICATION	X
LIST OF ABBREVIATION	I
ABSTRACT	III
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH PLAN	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 RESEARCH BACKGROUND	1
1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	9
1.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVES.....	10
1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	11
1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	11
1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATION	13
1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	13
CHAPTER TWO: PUBLIC POLICY PROCESS: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE	16
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	16
2.2 DEFINITIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY.....	16
2.2.1 What is Public Policy?.....	17
2.2.2 Public Policy and other Related Concepts	25
2.2.3 The Classification of Public Policy	29
2.3 PUBLIC POLICY PROCESS.....	33
2.4 STAGES OF THE POLICY PROCESS	38
2.5 ACTORS IN THE PUBLIC POLICY PROCESS.....	47
2.5.1 Actors in the Initiation Stage	49
2.5.2 Actors in the Formulation and Implementation Stages	55
2.5.3 Actors at the Evaluation Stage.....	60
2.6 CONCLUSION	64
CHAPTER THREE: POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND POLICY PROCESS FRAMEWORKS IN LIBYA.....	66
3.1 INTRODUCTION	66
3.2 LOCATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES	66
3.3 THE POPULATION	68
3.4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LIBYA	73
3.5 THE POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND POLICY PROCESS FRAMEWORKS 1952-1969	78
3.6 THE POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND POLICY PROCESS FRAMEWORKS 1969- 2011	82
3.6.1 The Formation of the Revolution Command Council 1969-1971	83
3.6.1.1 Policy Process Framework 1969-1971	85
3.6.2 The Creation of the Arab Socialist Union 1971-1973	87
3.6.2.1 Policy Process Framework 1971-1973	90
3.6.3 The Announcement of the Popular Revolution 1973-1975	92
3.6.3.1 Policy Process Framework 1973-1975	94
3.6.4 The New Status of the ASU 1975-1977	95
3.6.4.1 Policy Process Framework 1975-1977	98
3.7 THE POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND POLICY PROCESS FRAMEWORKS 1977-2011	101
3.7.1 The Structure of the Jamahiriya System	102
3.7.1.1 The People Congresses	104
3.7.1.2 The People Committees (PCs)	105
3.7.1.3 The Trade Unions and Syndicates	107
3.7.1.4 The General People Congress	109
3.7.2 Policy Process Framework 1977-2011	113

3.8	CONCLUSION	114
CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY		117
4.1	INTRODUCTION	117
4.2	DEFINITION OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	118
4.3	RESEARCH DESIGN	119
4.4	RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY	120
4.4.1	Ontology	122
4.4.2	Epistemology	123
4.4.3	Axiology	124
4.5	RESEARCH APPROACH	125
4.6	RESEARCH STRATEGY	127
4.6.1	Case Study Design	132
4.6.2	The Unit of Analysis	134
4.6.3	Triangulation	135
4.7	RESEARCH TECHNIQUES	137
4.7.1	Data Collection Techniques	137
4.7.2	Data Collection Techniques Selected for this Study	141
4.7.2.1	Literature Review	141
4.7.2.2	Documentations	143
4.7.2.3	Interviews	145
4.7.2.3.1	Setting of the Interviews Questions	149
4.7.2.3.2	Piloting Interviews	149
4.7.2.3.3	Conducting the Interviews	151
4.7.3	Data Analysis Techniques	154
4.7.3.1	Matrix Format	156
4.7.3.2	Cognitive Mapping	160
4.8	ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RESEARCH QUALITY	164
4.8.1	Constructed Validity	165
4.8.2	Reliability	165
4.8.3	Internal Validity	166
4.8.4	External validity	167
4.9	ETHICAL CONCERN	168
4.10	CONCLUSION	169
CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS		171
5.1	INTRODUCTION	171
5.2	CASE STUDY FINDINGS	171
5.2.1	The Libyan Policy Concept	173
5.2.2	The Libyan Policy Process	176
5.2.2.1	Policy Initiation: Activities and Actors	178
5.2.2.2	Policy Formulation: Activities and Actors	180
5.2.2.3	Policy Implementation: Activities and Actors	184
5.2.2.4	Policy Evaluation: Activities and Actors	187
5.3	CONCLUSION	193
CHAPTER SIX: AN EXAMINATION OF THE PUBLIC POLICY PROCESS IN LIBYA		195
6.1	INTRODUCTION	195
6.2	THE LIBYAN PUBLIC POLICY CONCEPT	196
6.3	THE PRACTICE OF THE LIBYAN POLICY PROCESS	201
6.3.1	The Stages in the Libyan Policy Process Practice 1969-1977	203
6.3.2	The Stages in the Libyan Policy Process Practice 1977-2011	210
6.3.2.1	Policy Initiation	210
6.3.2.2	Policy Formulation	219
6.3.2.3	Policy Implementation	230
6.3.2.4	Policy Evaluation	241
6.4	FACTORS AFFECTING THE LIBYAN POLICY PROCESS	248
6.5	CONCLUSION	254
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS		255

7.1	INTRODUCTION	255
7.2	RESEARCH SUMMARY	255
7.3	ACHIEVEMENT OF THE RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES	259
7.3.1	The Conceptual Framework.....	259
7.3.2	Institutional Springboard/Political Structures	260
7.3.3	Policies and Actors	262
7.3.4	Factors Affecting the Policy Process	274
7.4	RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION	277
7.5	RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER WORK.....	279
BIBLIOGRAPHY		282
APPENDICES		303

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1.1 STAFF MEMBER IN THE POLITICAL AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENTS, WHERE PUBLIC POLICY IS TAUGHT IN THE ARAB UNIVERSITIES	4
TABLE 1.2: TEACHING PUBLIC POLICY MODULES IN THE ARAB UNIVERSITIES.....	4
TABLE 3.1: POPULATION GROWTH RATE IN LIBYA 1955-2010	68
TABLE 3.2: POPULATION AVERAGE GROWTH RATES IN ARAB STATES 1955- 2010	69
TABLE 3.3: THE LIBYAN POPULATION STRUCTURE AGES 1955-2010	70
TABLE 3.4: THE POPULATION OF LIBYA ACROSS AGE GROUPS IN COMPRESSION WITH MORE AND LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES 1950-2010	71
TABLE 3.5: THE POPULATION DENSITY RATES IN LIBYA	73
TABLE 3.6: POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES IN LIBYA 1969-2011	83
TABLE 4.1: KEY FEATURES OF THE POSITIVISM AND THE INTERPRETIVISM PARADIGMS.....	122
TABLE 4.2: MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DEDUCTIVE AND INDUCTIVE APPROACHES	126
TABLE 4.3: USED TACTICS IN ESTABLISHING THE RESEARCH QUALITY AND VALIDITY	168
TABLE 5.1. LIST OF INTERVIEWEES WITH THEIR JOB TITLES AND POSITIONS	172
TABLE 6.1: CONTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCES TO THE GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES 1954- 62 (IN MILLION)	197
TABLE 6.2: VALUES OF THE OIL REVENUES 1962-2010 (IN MILLION \$).....	200
TABLE 6.3: VALUES OF THE OIL REVENUES% TO THE TOTAL FOREIGN CURRENCY INCOME 1962-2010 IN MILLION (\$)	236
TABLE 6.4: ACTUAL OPERATING AND DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES FROM 1963 TO 2010 (IN MILLION LD)	239
TABLE 7.1: THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES USED	258

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1.1: THE PROCESS OF SELECTING THE RESEARCH FOCUS	9
FIGURE 1.2: STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	15
FIGURE 2.1: PUBLIC POLICY AND OTHER RELATED CONCEPTS	28
FIGURE 2.2: POLICY STAGES APPROACH.....	36
FIGURE 2.3: THE AUSTRALIAN POLICY STAGES APPROACH.....	36
FIGURE 2.4: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLICY EFFICIENCY AND POLICY EFFECTIVENESS	43
FIGURE 2.5: SIMPLIFIED DIAGRAM OF THE MAIN STAGES OF THE POLICY PROCESS	46
FIGURE 2.6: TOP-DOWN PERSPECTIVE OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION	58
FIGURE 2.7: DEVELOPED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: POLICY PROCESS: ACTIVITIES AND ACTORS	64
FIGURE 3.1: LOCATION AND PHYSICAL FEATURES OF LIBYA	68
FIGURE 3.2: THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE 1952-1969	80
FIGURE 3.3: POLICY PROCESS FRAMEWORK 1969-1971.....	86
FIGURE 3.4: THE STRUCTURE OF THE ASU	89
FIGURE 3.5: POLICY PROCESS FRAMEWORK 1971-1973.....	91
FIGURE 3.6: POLICY PROCESS FRAMEWORK 1973-1975.....	94
FIGURE 3.7: THE NEW STRUCTURE OF THE ASU.....	97
FIGURE 3.8: POLICY PROCESS FRAMEWORK 1975-1977.....	99
FIGURE 3.9: A SIMPLE DIAGRAM OF THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN THE JAMAHIRIYA SYSTEM	103
FIGURE 3.10: THE LIBYAN FORMAL BODIES INVOLVING IN THE POLICY PROCESS	110
FIGURE 3.11: POLICY PROCESS FRAMEWORK 1977-2011	114
FIGURE 4.1: THE RESEARCH DESIGN PATH	120
FIGURE 4.2: BASIC TYPES OF CASE STUDIES DESIGN.....	132
FIGURE 4.3: LITERATURE REVIEW PROCESS.....	142
FIGURE 4.4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY DESIGN	170
FIGURE 5.1: COGNITIVE MAP ON KEY IDEAS OF THE LIBYAN POLICY CONCEPT	176
FIGURE 5.2: COGNITIVE MAP ON THE LIBYAN POLICY PROCESS.....	178
FIGURE 5.3: COGNITIVE MAP ON THE LIBYAN POLICY INITIATION	180
FIGURE 5.4: COGNITIVE MAP ON THE LIBYAN POLICY FORMULATION	183

FIGURE 5.5: COGNITIVE MAP ON THE LIBYAN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION	186
FIGURE 5.6: COGNITIVE MAP ON THE LIBYAN POLICY EVALUATION.....	191
FIGURE 6.1: VALUES OF OIL REVENUES 1962 - 2010 IN MILLION (\$).....	ERROR! BOOKMARK NOT DEFINED.
FIGURE 6.2: ACTIVITIES AND ACTORS INVOLVE IN THE POLICY INITIATION IN LIBYA	213
FIGURE 6.3: AGENDA SOURCES.....	218
FIGURE 6.4: ACTIVITIES AND ACTORS INVOLVED IN THE POLICY FORMULATION	227
FIGURE 6.5: ACTIVITIES AND ACTORS INVOLVED IN THE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION	234
FIGURE 6.6: VALUES OF OIL REVENUES IN % OF THE TOTAL FOREIGN CURRENCY INCOME 1962 - 2010 IN MILLION (\$)	235
FIGURE 6.7: ACTUAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES 1962 - 2010 IN MILLION (\$)	ERROR! BOOKMARK NOT DEFINED.
FIGURE 6.8: STAGES AND ACTORS INVOLVE IN POLICY EVALUATION	244
FIGURE 6.9: FINANCIAL RESOURCES & POLICY PROCESS PRACTICE IN LIBYA.....	247
FIGURE 6.10: FACTORS AFFECTING THE LIBYAN POLICY PROCESS.....	253

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All praise and thanks are due to Allah the Almighty for his countless blessings on me. In this context, I emphasise that my prayers, sacrifices, life and death are for Him the Glory. The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without his help and the active support and advices I have received from many individuals and institutions with which I had the pleasure and privilege to work.

I would like to thank all those who have made this study possible. My special gratitude and appreciation go first to my supervisor Dr. Richard Haigh for his indefatigable source of encouragement, valuable support, guidance and constrictive advice throughout the course of this research. His supervision, comments, suggestions have made the completion of my study possible. I am sincerely grateful for his enthusiasm and patience in helping me in solving many problems I have encountered during the course of my study.

I would also like to thank the talented academics whom I have had the good fortune to meet and to discuss parts of the research in particular during my interim and internal evaluation exams and who have contributed many valuable suggestions. In particular I wish to acknowledge Professors D. Amaratunga, Professor Mel Lees, John Hudson and Gerard Wood. Sincerer gratitude must also go to all academic and supporting staff in the SoBE for their support, assistance and making the School such welcoming and fun place to pursue a postgraduate degree. Special thanks ought to go to the Carol Gordon and Batley Cheryl, for their valuable assistance.

I wish also to express my sincere acknowledgement to the various politicians, administrators and policy planners in Libya who took time off from their valuable duties and allowed me to interview them. In particular, Ali Sharif, Salah-Elddin Elalous, Hossam-Elden Elhamsuk, Mohamed N Sidun, Bashier Salamaa, Saleh Abuzweek, Hussni A Elwashi, Dr. Ibrahim El-Sharif, Dr. Abd-Elkabir Elfakhri, Dr. Saleh Y Barony, Dr. Soliman Murjan, Dr. Fathi A El-Harram, Dr. Mohamed El-Abboud, Mohamed Inbrahim and Habib E Tamer. They provided me useful information, wealth of knowledge, constrictive ideas and positive help. Without their

help, large part of my study would never have been completed. Many of the official documents and materials related to public policies in Libya were found in the premise of the National Planning Council in Tripoli. Gratitude must go to all staff at this institute, particularly Rafaa Alzugni, the Head of Information Office for his great help.

Special thanks and deepest appreciation to Brother Muhammad Kabir Musa for his support and help in proof-reading the first draft of thesis. His kind help, positive ideas and comments have helped me in this study.

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to all members of my family, relatives and family-in-law for their constant support and encouragement during my study. My special and deepest gratitude and appreciation are owed to my dearest wife Dr. Rabia for her unlimited academic support. She has been consulted many times about issues related to my work. My greatest gratitude also must go to my sons Mohamed, Saif and lovely Abdu for their patience, love, endurance and support during the course of my study.

Finally my prayers to Allah and blessings go to the spirits of my parents and eldest brother.

DECLARATION

I declare that the work presented in this thesis entitled “Examination of the Public Policy Process in Libya” has not previously been submitted for any degree or similar award at Salford University or any other University or institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, no material in this thesis has been previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made.

.....

Abuagela Masaud Ahmed

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Dr. R. Elbasekeri and my children,

Mohamed, Saif Elhaq and Abdu Alrahman

ALSO

In memory of my parents, and eldest brother

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

Association of Arab Universities	(AAU)
Arab Socialist Union	(ASU)
Basic Congresses	(BCs)
Basic Executive Committee	(BEC)
Basic People Congresses	(BPC s)
Chairman of the Revolution Command Council	(Chairman of the RCC)
Chiefs of the Provinces Executive Councils	(CPECs)
City Expert Associations	(CEAs)
Council of Ministries	(CMs)
Development Council	(DC)
General People Congress	(GPC)
General People Committee	(GPCCommittee)
General Planning Council	(GPCouncil)
General Secretariat of the GPC	(GSGPC)
General Secretariat of the Trade Unions and Syndicates	(GSTUSs)
Gross Domestic Product	(GDP)
Leader of the Revolution	(LoR)
Lebanese Centre for Policy Study	(LCPS)
Libyan Public Development and Stabilisation Agency	(LPDSA)
Libyan Dinar	(LD)
Libyan Finance Corporation	(LFC)
Local People Committee	(LPC)
Members of Parliament	(MPs)
Ministry of Planning	(MP)

Muhafadha Congress	(MC)
Muhafadha Executive Committee	(MEC)
Municipal People Committee	(MPC)
Municipality Planning Council	(MPCouncil)
National General Congress	(NGC)
National Planning Council	(NPCouncil)
People Committees	(PCs)
People Congress of the Municipality	(PCM)
Planning Secretariat	(PS)
Planning Divisions	(PDs)
Political Research and Studies Centre	(CPRS)
Prime Minister	(PM)
Provisional Constitutional Proclamation	(PCP)
Public Administration Research and Consultation Centre	(PARC)
Provincial Governors	(PGs)
Sector Planning Committee	(PSC)
Technical Committee	(TC)
Revolution Command Council	(RCC)
Royal Diwan	(RD)
Highest Planning Council	(HPC)
Trade Unions and Syndicates	(TUSs)

ABSTRACT

Although the study of public policy and the policy process, as an academic and distinctive area, has received much attention in the West, it is still far from being the case in the Arab states, including Libya. Indeed, the policy process in Libya is still ill-defined and not well documented, and there is also an absence of detailed research work related to the policy process in the Libyan context. Therefore, this study aims to examine the practice of the policy process in Libya and compare with the policy process as defined in the conceptual framework developed from the Western literature. Policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation were typically identified as the principal processes. Each of these was examined as a distinctive type of government activity in order to get a better understanding of how the Libyan government developed and put selected policies into effect, and took actions to implement them to bring policy outputs into existence. This was done by investigating the various activities and actors involved in each process so as to determine their characteristics and the factors affecting their effectiveness in achieving policy objectives.

A case study was selected as an appropriate strategy for explorative and descriptive analysis. The main sources of evidence were provided by semi-structured interviews with key people from different policy areas and government agencies who have been involved in the policy process, supplemented by a literature and documents review to achieve a higher degree of validity and reliability of the research. Collected data was analysed using matrix format and cognitive mapping.

The findings of this study have shown that the central planning has been adopted by the government as an appropriate method for policy planning and preparation. The policy process in Libya has experienced some defects due to certain internal and external factors. Internal

factors mainly refer to the inappropriate selection of the implementation means, adoption of overambitious objectives, mismanagement, instability of the administrative structures, and insufficiency of some existing legislation in particular the one related to the national urban planning system. They also refer to the lack of feedback information as well as shortage of technology and professional skills in the policy implementation and evaluation. As for the external factors, they were concerned with the changing international oil markets and prices and the foreign sanctions that were imposed on Libya, all of which directly affected the implementation of the selected policies since they were largely financed from oil revenues.

Chapter One

Introduction and Research Plan

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the research topic and the research process. It provides a brief overview of the research background, research problem, and the research aims and objectives. It describes the research methodology and design by which the research has been conducted to achieve the intended aims and objectives. The research philosophy, approaches and techniques for data collection and analysis are also described in this chapter. The chapter concludes with the structure of thesis.

1.2 Research Background

While the study of politics has a long history, public policy study, on the other hand, can be regarded as a twentieth-century creation, Harold Lasswell, the American political scientist, is considered as the pioneer in this field. As such he was the first to introduce a serious conceptualisation of policy in the first number of the *Policy Science Journal* in 1951, then in a variety of articles, namely the ‘Policy Science: Recent Developments in Scope and Methods’ in 1951, ‘the Emerging Concept of Policy Science’ in 1970 and ‘the Future of Political Science’ in 1971 (Lasswell, 1951; 1970 and 1971). The study of public policy, therefore, is relatively a new sub-field in the political science discipline which began in the United States in 1950s and soon after the rejection of the politics-administration dichotomy by Paul Appleby – the latter asserted that policy was inextricably linked with administration, and it was therefore difficult, if not impossible, to separate them. This assertion was later supported by DeLeon (1999); Gerston, (2004); Hill (2009) and Birkland (2010). Since then, the study of public policy has rapidly grown, particularly in the USA, becoming very popular. Its development as a distinctive area of academic study is reflected in the establishment of

schools, institutes and research centres of public policy in many American Universities, and soon later in Western European Universities. It is also reflected in the increasing number of professional public policy journals, the publishing of numerous textbooks used on many new policy courses and the explosion in the public policy literature. These developments have been dominated, for the greater part of history, by the American materials and ideas, and by the late 1970s flavoured by the Western ideas (Thomas, 1981; Parsons, 1996 and Birkland, 2010).

The most important development is the emergence of the study of policy analysis in the 1970s, as an approach concerned with policy analysis and development. It includes the analysis of policy content, policy process, policy outputs, policy evaluation, policy making, and policy advocacy (Hogwood and Gunn, 1991; Hill 2009). These types of policy analysis have attracted the attention of a wide range of academic interests, who made significant contributions with a view of developing this area of study, especially the analysis of the policy process. The latter, as Hill (2009) and Birkland (2010) argue, determines what government does or does not do. It explains how governments create resources and provide benefits to individual people and groups in society. It focuses on the functional role of governments in dealing with the problems of society that are viewed to be important and need a solution. It considers how governments deliver public services, public infrastructure and buildings and improve their quality. It is mainly concerned with the activities of the governments when making policy decisions.

The most distinctive features of the development of this field came from the Western world, which has made significant contributions to this area of study (Lasswell, 1951, 1970 and 1971; Easton, 1965; Jenkins, 1978; Hogwood and Gunn, 1991; Lindblom, 1993; Parsons,

1996; Simon, 1997; Genston, 2004; Sabatier, 2007; Hill, 2009; Anderson, 2010 and Dye, 2010). Their aim is to develop public policy area as a distinct field of study, particularly the policy process. The latter is regarded as continuous activities taking place over a long period of time to change and transform an issue into an existing policy as well as a sequential pattern of government actions on society, that is the ability to make things better or worse (Jenkins, 1978; Hogwood and Gunn, 1991; Akindele and Olaopa, 2004; Hyewood, 2007; Hill, 2009; Anderson, 2010 and Dye, 2010). This policy process ranges from three to eight stages, and is typically divided into four main ones, which involve policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation. Each of these stages is functionally treated as a distinctive type of government activity through which policy ideas and issues are identified, defined, developed and processed into policy outputs. This would help get a better understanding of how governments select their policies, allocate financial resources, put selected policies into effect and take actions to bring policy outputs into existence.

Even though the study of policy analysis and process has seen remarkable developments and received a great attention in the West, as evidenced by the produced literature, it has not received sufficient interest in most Arab states, including Libya. There is also a lack of information about the policy process, which, despite being in place, is still not well defined and documented (Qandeel, 1988; Hussein, 2002; Shaarawy, 2004). This is reflected in the very limited number of published materials, an absence of professional public policy journals, a lack of public policy research centres and institutes, the limited number of teaching modules of public policy in Arab Universities, and a scarcity of public policy workshops and conferences, as shown in Table 1.1 and 1.2.

Table 1.1 Staff Member in the Political and Public Administration Departments, where Public Policy is Taught in the Arab Universities

Country	Number of Universities	Political Science Area		Public Administration Area		Public Policy Area	
		Departments	Staff Members	Departments	Staff Members	Departments	Staff Members
Algeria	7	1	10	0	0	0	0
Bahrain	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Egypt	20	8	80	1	10	0	0
Iraq	15	7	63	1	7	0	0
Jordan	18	3	27	5	49	0	0
Kuwait	1	1	17	1	10	0	0
Lebanon	9	2	49	1	7	0	0
Libya	10	7	30	0	0	0	0
Mauritania	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morocco	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oman	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Palestine	11	2	7	1	6	0	0
Qatar	1	0	0	1	10	0	0
Saudi Arabia	8	3	90	4	53	0	0
Somalia	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sudan	24	6	60	2	5	0	0
Syria	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunisia	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
UAE	3	1	12	1	12	0	0
Yemen	15	6	45	2	12	0	0
Total	158	47	490	19	176	0	0
Source: Compiled by the author from data provided by the Information Centre of the Association of Arab Universities. . www.aaru.edu.jo/index.php?option=com_content&task							

Table 1.2: Teaching Public Policy Modules in the Arab Universities

Country	University	Department		Teaching Level		No. Modules	Modules Description
		Political Science	Public Administration	Under Graduate	Post Graduate		
UAE	Sharjah		*	*		1	Introduction
UAE	UAE	*		*		1	Introduction
Egypt	Assault	*			*	1	Introduction
Egypt	Cairo		*		*	1	Introduction
Saudi Arabia	King Saud	*	*		*	1	Introduction
Saudi Arabia	King Abdel-Aziz	*	*		*	1	Introduction
Jordan	Al al-Bayt		*		*	1	Introduction
Jordan	Yarmouk		*	*		1	Introduction
Algeria	Algiers	*		*		1	Introduction

Source: Compiled by the author from data provided by the Information Centre of the Association of Arab Universities. www.aaru.edu.jo/index.php?option=com_content&task

This situation has made this area of study to be less developed in the Arab states. It has also led these countries to depend greatly on foreign references and materials in teaching public policy in their Universities. However, there are a number of studies that have been conducted in the UK and in other Arab Universities to examine the particular areas of public policy.

Most of these have mainly focused on economic policies, in particular the impact of the oil revenues in developing other economic activities (El-Faqhir, 1982; Braadyi, 1983; Abbas, 1987; Qandeel, 1988; Al-Tunisik, 1995; Mohamed, 1997; Gzema, 1999; Waller, 2000 and Wershfani, 2003). A very limited number of studies have examined certain issues related to the housing and tourism policies in Libya (Omar, 2003; Abuharris, 2005; El-Hasia, 2005; Aburounia, 2007 and Shibani, 2008). These studies focus mainly on policy contents and directions, paying less attention to the examination of the policy development process.

The teaching of public policy as a subject in Arab Universities had also been neglected. A majority of Arab Universities did not even teach it. The lack of awareness continued until the end of the 1980s when some Arab Universities, particularly in Egypt, developed their postgraduate programme studies, offering public policy as an alternative module in the Political Science Department. Some Arab Universities have, since then, attempted to raise the awareness of the teaching of the public policy subject. As shown in Tables 1.2, the subject has only been offered at 9 Universities out of 158 Arab Universities, which are members of the Association of Arab Universities (AAU). It has been offered as an optional module in the 11 political science and public administration departments, from a total of 66 departments in all 158 Universities in the AAU. In comparison with the Western Universities, the teaching of public policy modules in the Arab Universities is very limited and, in the majority of them, is non-existent.

As mentioned before, the subject has only been taught in the Political Science and Public Administration Departments; no dedicated department, school or institute of public policy is found in Arab Universities. Although, there is hundreds of faculty staff in these departments, (a total of 666) as shown in Table 1.1 – where the subject is taught – none of them are

specialist in this field (www.aaru.edu.jo). In Libya, the teaching of this subject commenced in 1993, and was only offered to the postgraduate students at the Academy of Postgraduate Studies in Tripoli. Indeed, the researcher was among the first students to be taught the subject.

The problem extends to public policy research centres: only three centres can be found in the Arab states. These are the Political Research and Studies Centre (CPRS) in Cairo, the Public Administration Research and Consultation Centre (PARC) in Cairo, and the Lebanese Centre for Policy Study (LCPS) in Beirut. This limitation of the existing research centres in the Arab states is further evidence of how this subject area has not been seen as an important one in the academic activity in these countries. The CPRS was established in 1986 and the LCPS in 1989, while the PARC was set up in 2000. These centres hosted several forums and seminars, yet just a few of them focused on issues related to public policy. In Libya, no public policy centre or institute has been established so far. However, only one conference on public policy was organised by the Garyounis University in June 2007. This discussed different aspects related to public policy, with a special reference to the case of Libya (Garyounis University, 2007).

The lack of attention given to the study of public policy and in particular, the policy process in most Arab states, including Libya, may be due to lack of funding as well as the lack of interest shown by a large number of academics in developing this area of study in the Arab Universities (Hussein, 2002 and Shaarawy, 2004). Despite this, there are good reasons why this area of study should be developed in these countries. Most Arab countries have emerged as newly independent states during the 1950s and 1960s. They had also been directly and/or indirectly influenced economically, socially, culturally and politically by the colonial systems, leading to fragile and weak states. Therefore, they have been described by Heady

(2001) as states with a) ineffective political institutions; b) a high degree of centralisation; c) political instability and d) an imbalance in economic and political development. In order to overcome these difficulties, they should achieve rapid development. However, this cannot easily be done without improving the practice of the policy process, something that is instrumental in producing effective policies.

In a similar vein, in Libya – being the main focus of this study – the activity of the government has, since its independence in 1951 as a kingdom (Adrain, 1970), been very limited and all policy areas received little attention, particularly prior to the discovery and development of oil industry in 1960. That period of time (1951-60), the government largely depended on foreign aids to finance its policies, notably from the USA and the UK as a rent for having military bases in Libya. The provision of many public services, in particular education, health and housing, as the most important areas of public concern and demands, was highly inappropriate in both quantity and quality. A large part of the population was living in huts, tents and caves, lacking even the simplest conveniences for human life (Omar, 2003). Education and health facilities were not adequate. Such facilities were only provided for a small proportion of the population. Diseases and illiteracy were widespread in the country. Public utilities and other services were also very limited and restricted in some of the main cities (Attir and Alzzabi, 2002). With the development of oil industry in the early 1960s, oil revenues became the main source for funding public policies. This enabled the government to expand its activities as it launched the first development plan, 1963-68 (Allan, 1981). This situation continued even when the republic was proclaimed in 1969. The newly-established government recognised the need for the development of more public policies, by adopting central planning as an appropriate method for policy planning and preparation (Vandewalle, 1998 and 2006).

The new government has foremost worked out a strategy for increasing oil revenues through the development of the activity of oil industry (Simons, 1996). Therefore, it started by extending its investments and expenditures in different policy areas. Four development plans were implemented during the periods of (1969-72, 1973-75, 1976-80 and 1981-85) (Ministry of Planning, 1973; 1976 and 1981). By doing so, the government took overall responsibility for preparing, financing and implementing public policies. This also led the government to extend the scope and intervention of the public sector in the economic activity in general. Public investments in these development plans were intended to develop public infrastructure and buildings, provide adequate services in different policy areas including in health, education and housing, and improve their quality. These services have been given high priority in the government investments programmes and largely financed and implemented by the public sector (General Authority for Information, 2006).

Although many selected policies have been implemented, there is little insight as to how they have been developed and implemented. This is not surprising because the study of public policy in Libya is still in its infancy, and as such not adequately integrated into the academic discourse. Up to now, public policy research in Libya has mainly focused on public expenditures and the influence of oil revenues on developing other economic activities. This may help to understand the policy contents and direction in Libya, but not the development of the policy process. With a lack of detailed research on the policy process in Libya (ill-defined and not well-documented), this research focuses on the examination of the policy process since the establishment of the republic in September 1969 until the start of the popular uprising in February 2011. Since then the country entered an era marked by the collapse of the institutions and uncertainty as to its future. Once the situation stabilises and new

institutions established, the emerging government ought to be mindful of the deficiencies/shortcomings that marked the practices of the public policy process under former political regime, these are outlined in Chapter 6.4.

In summary, the various sequences of the research focus as discussed above, moving from the broader theme of public policy study to the specific case of Libya, are illustrated in Figure 1.1.

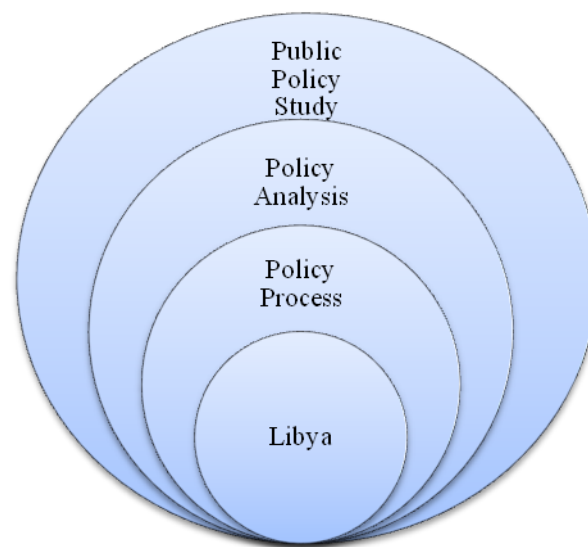


Figure 1.1: The Process of Selecting the Research Focus

1.3 Research Problem

Given the lack of detailed research regarding the policy process in Libya, this study aims to fill this gap by examining the practice of the policy process in Libya, and then comparing it with the policy process as defined in the conceptual framework developed in Western literature. This will be done by investigating how the selected policies in Libya are developed and implemented, and finding out how the Libyan government takes actions through certain processes to relate policy objectives to expected outputs. It also sets to identify and scrutinise how the Libyan government allocates finances among policy objectives and programmes to verify policy outputs. The study will also investigate how the processes are formulated,

implemented and evaluated to determine the characteristic features of these processes and identify factors affecting their effectiveness in achieving policy objectives. That being so, the following aim and objectives are identified to demonstrate whether or not the effectiveness of the policy process in developing and implementing the selected policies.

1.4 Aim and Objectives

The principal aim of this research is to examine the practice of the Libyan policy process and then comparing it with the policy process as defined in the developed conceptual framework. It investigates how the processes are formulated, implemented and evaluated and identifies the key stakeholders involved in the policy process. In order to determine the characteristic features of these processes and identify factors affecting their effectiveness in achieving policy objectives. In order to achieve this, the following objectives are identified:

- To develop a conceptual framework for examining the public policy process in Libya based on a comprehensive review of existing literature.
- To investigate the Libyan political structures and government institutions through which selected policies are developed and implemented.
- To investigate how selected policies in Libya are developed and implemented and identify the principal participants/actors involved in the policy process.
- To analyse the government's policy plans in order to demonstrate the differences between the stated policy objectives and the actual implementation and achievement.
- To compare the practice of the Libyan policy process with the policy process as defined in the developed conceptual framework.
- To identify the main factors affecting the public policy process in Libya in achieving policy objectives.

- To make recommendations for improving the practices of the Libyan policy process while offering suggestions for further research work on this theme.

1.5 Research Questions

- What is the meaning attributed to the concept of public policy?
- How are the political structures in Libya working to produce public policies?
- How are the selected policies in Libya developed and formulated, and who are the principal actors involved?
- How are policy issues identified, defined, developed and put on the policy agenda?
- How are selected policies developed into policy plan and put into effect?
- How are the financial resources generated and allocated among policy objectives and priorities set on the policy plan?
- Have the implemented policies satisfactorily achieved their objectives set out in the action plan? If not why?
- How are the selected policies implemented and evaluated, and what methods and criteria are used for their evaluation?
- What are the main factors affecting the policy process in Libya in achieving policy objectives?
- How is the policy process practice in Libya examined in accordance with the developed conceptual framework?

1.6 Research Methodology

A case study design was adopted in this research as a highly appropriate strategy for the research questions addressed. It was selected due to the nature of the research focus, which examines the policy process practice through which selected policies are developed and

implemented, and identify the primary actors involved. It is essentially concerned with the nature of reality in the social world, therefore, it is seemed to be more descriptive and explanatory in nature with '*how*', '*who*' and '*what*' questions. It deals with the activities of humans within the Libyan political structures over an extended period of time. Therefore, the main unit of analysis is the process and the individuals involved in. The basic design was a single case study of Libya with embedded multiple units of analysis based around the policy process and the people involved in. The selection was made to show different perspectives on the issue under consideration by bring out detailed information from the viewpoint of the participants about the policy process practice in Libya in order to achieve the research aim and objectives.

Within this design a triangulation of data collection and analysis was used in this study. Primary and secondary data was collected from different sources including literature, documents review and interviews in order to achieve the research aim and objectives, addressing the research questions, and achieving a higher degree of the research validity and reliability. Data collected from literature was used to develop the conceptual framework by which the public policy process in Libya can be examined. Official documents relating to public policy in Libya were reviewed to describe the Libyan political structures through which selected policies are developed and implemented. Official documents relating to the government policy plans were also reviewed to demonstrate the differences between stated objectives and the actual implementation. The interviews were conducted to collect empirical data about the practice of the policy process in Libya by gaining information about how the selected policies in Libya are developed and implemented through certain processes, and the principal actors involved. Therefore, semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were designed and carried out twice in Libya with relevant people.

In terms of triangulation of data analysis, the collected data was analysed by using a matrix format and cognitive mapping. Collected data was transcribed, collated, classified into meaningful categories, and displayed in matrices and mapping formats to be readily accessible for the process of interpretation. This technique was used to reduce and re-arrange collected data into a more manageable and comprehensible form. Qualitative data was analysed throughout the use of conceptualisations and presented in detailed textual analysis in a logical order, while statistical data was presented in table and chart form by using Microsoft Excel.

1.7 Scope and Limitation

The study is limited to the assessment of the policy process from the proclamation of the republic in 1969 until the popular uprising of February 2011, which plunged the country in a state of chaos. Despite this, the study has relevance to the post-uprising situation, as an effective policy process will be essential as the country rebuilds politically, economically, and socially. A brief review to the Libyan political structures from the independence of the state in 1952 until the establishment of the Republic, has also been made in this study.

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured into seven chapters as illustrated in Figure 1.1.

Chapter One provides an overview of the whole thesis including general background about the research topic, research problem, aim and objectives, research methodology and design, research scope and limitation, and the structure of thesis.

Chapter Two presents detailed information about key issues and themes pertaining to the study, namely policy concepts and process through which selected policies ideas are developed, implemented and appraised. It outlines the principal processes, which typically include policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation. Activities and actors involved in each process are described in this chapter in order to develop a conceptual framework by which the case in this study can be examined.

Chapter Three focuses on the examination of the Libyan political environment. It depicts the development of the Libyan political structures from the independence of state in 1951 until the popular uprising of February 2011. The geographical, human and historical background is also briefly described.

The Fourth chapter sets out the research methodology. It describes the research philosophies and their associated approaches by which data can be collected. The selection of the case study design as an appropriate strategy for data collection is justified in this chapter. Data analysis techniques and the validity and reliability of the case study data are addressed in this chapter.

Chapter Five presents the research findings obtained from semi-structured interviews conducted with relevant people from different government agencies involved in the policy process. The empirical findings are presented and linked to the developed conceptual framework based on the main identified themes, including policy concept and the activities and actors involved in each stage of the policy process and factors affecting the policy process.

Chapter Six provides an in-depth discussion and analysis of the research findings. It focuses on the analysis of the empirical and supplementary data obtained from interviews, Libyan official documents and literature in order to answer the research questions. It also explores the characteristics of the policy process practice and identifies the main factors affecting the policy process in Libya.

Chapter Seven concludes the study and summaries the research findings. It attempts to put forward a number of suggestions for improving the development and implementation of the policy process in Libya and makes a few recommendations for further research work.

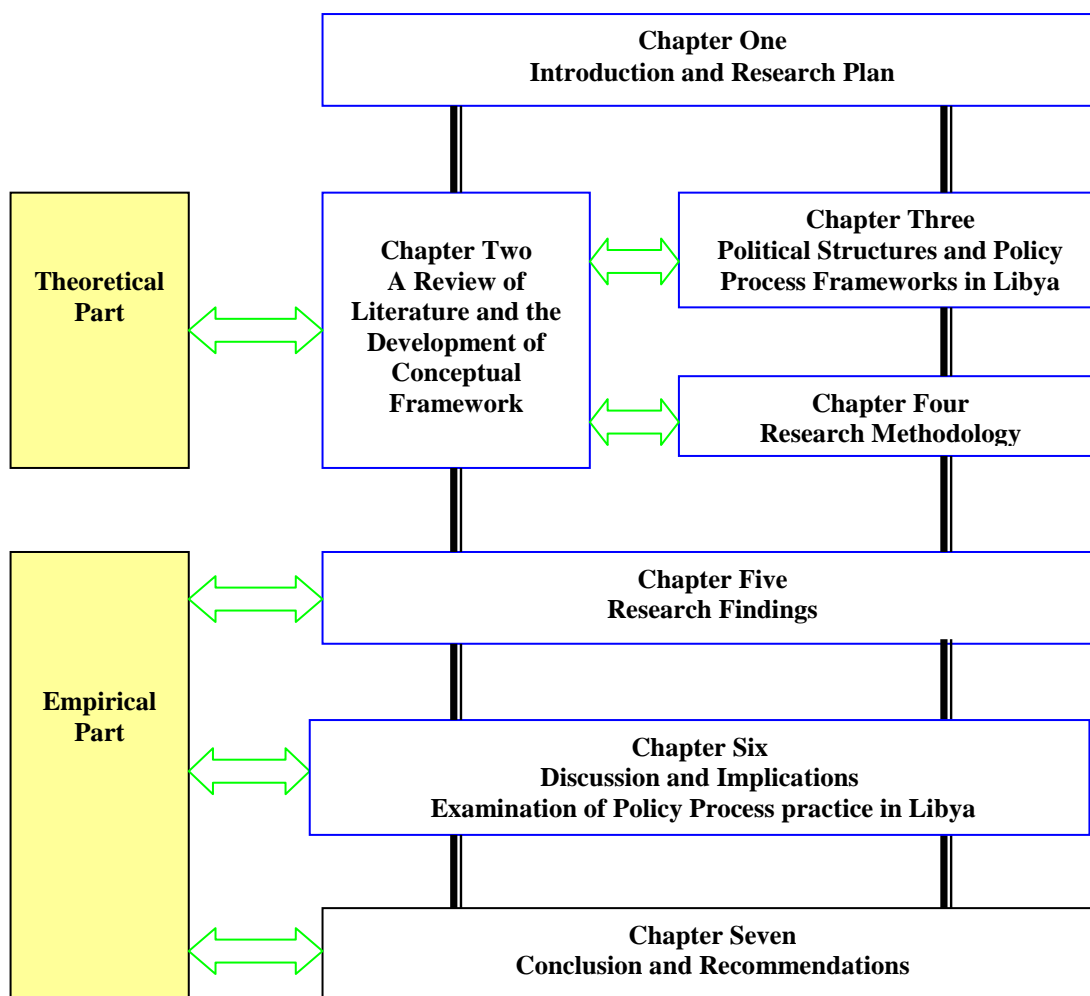


Figure 1.2: Structure of the Thesis

Chapter Two

Public Policy Process: A Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

The study of policy analysis and processes has rapidly grown as a distinctive area of academic study, and sufficiently defined and documented to attract the attention of a wide range of academic interests, particularly in the Western world. Therefore, this chapter starts with a review of current definitions of public policy in order to grasp the precise meaning of the concept of public policy and determine its confines from other related terms such as decision, strategy, objective and programme. This review will be undertaken through an examination of the available literature from Western and Arab countries and is followed by a description of policy classifications. Yet the main focus of this chapter is the investigation of the public policy process, by which policy ideas and issues are generated, defined, developed and processed into policy outputs. Put differently, it looks at how public policy is made through a series of sequential processes – typically including policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation, as well as identifying the key stakeholders involved in these processes. Each one of them is examined as a distinctive type of government activity in order to get a better understanding of how governments select and put policies into effect, and take actions to implement them to bring deliberated policy outputs into existence. The main purpose of this chapter therefore, is to develop a conceptual framework by which the case in this study can be examined.

2.2 Definitions of Public Policy

Although in academic writings many definitions of public policy have been offered, there is not a single working definition that has been universally accepted. Definitions of policy, as Ham and Hill, (1984: 11) note, “*have attracted much attention but a little agreement*”. Day (2010) also argues that searching for one particular definition of public policy can collapse

into a word game. The term of policy has occasionally been used in different senses and tangling with other relevant concepts such as politics, decision, strategy, objective and programme, leading to a definitional conceptual overlap difficulty. Thus, due to the lack of a consensus on reaching a specific definition, the different available sources of public policy definitions will be reviewed, to explore the multi-dimensional nature of policy, to establish the key elements of definitions in the study-field, to decipher the common characters of policy concept, and finally to allow, if possible, for developing a working definition. In order to demonstrate this, the starting point for a discussion should be the consideration of what it is meant by the term 'policy', which has been very widely used in the political and administrative contexts. This is particularly important in view of the fact that, as mentioned earlier, the term of policy has tended to overlap with other related terms. As a corollary, public policy should also be distinguished from those terms with a view to clarify its meaning.

2.2.1 What is Public Policy?

The term 'public policy' was initially used by Harold Lasswell, the American political scientist who first made the case for 'policy science' in 1951, then in a variety of publications. He called for the development of a distinctive 'policy science' that is concerned with the role of knowledge in and of the policy process (Lasswell, 1951). The idea of policy science is to apply scientific knowledge to practical policy problems as well as to use different methods by which the decision making process is investigated in order to understand the actual activity of government (Lasswell, 1951; Deleon & Vogenbeck, 2007; Torgerson, 2007 and Hill, 2009). Thus, the term of policy as reported is a twentieth-century creation produced in the early years of the 1950s (McCool, 1995; Deleon, 1999; Gerston, 2004, and Birkland, 2010), beginning with Lasswell who first made a proper start for

emerging the policy conception, focusing on public and its problems or as he described, 'problem-focused'. Since then, academics and political scientists have continued to develop their perspectives on government activities, and to contemplate the definition of public policy, which has been reflected in many textbooks and professional journals.

According to Lasswell, the word policy has emerged from the world of politics and is commonly used as a substitute for politics (Lasswell, 1951). The preference of policy to politics in this context is an attempt to present policy as an objective study of political actions taken by governments, designed to attain specific results. There is a problem with this view because it is too restrictive. It would put all policies in the public domain, but policy is as much a phenomenon of the private organisations, even though they cannot call on public resources in the same way as the public organisations. If policy is initially regarded as an activity of the public organisations as well as the private organisations, it is advisable therefore, to think about their common characteristics to find out the distinguishable lines between the two. As Caputo (1977) argues, public policy has a much wider scope and objectives than the policies of the private organisations. In terms of goals, public policy aims to produce outputs for society as a whole in order to satisfy public demands and welfare, whereas the private organisations' pursuit to maximise their profits tends to predominate their objectives. In terms of scope, public policy is concerned with the public, who has special interest in public policies that are seen as goals to be achieved by a governmental decision or a set of decisions. By contrast, the activity of the private organisation is defined by its products or market share. Hence its scope is typically narrower than that of public policy. Also public policy, as Hogwood and Gun (1991) argue, is in some degree processed within the framework of governmental procedures, influences and organisations; thus it can call on public resources and legal coercion in a way that other policies cannot. On the other hand, the

policies of the private organisations lack the legitimacy, universality and legal-bindingness which, according to Dye (2010), constitute the distinct characteristics of government policies. In addition, there is also a dividing line between policy and politics; the latter is defined by Easton (1953:129) as, “*the authoritative allocation of values*”, while the former, as Gerston (2004:7) notes, ‘results from the blend of politics and government’. In a very real sense, if values predetermine policies, then policies are as important in defining existing values (politics) as they are in defining solutions to current problems through government activities. However, in actual fact, the term ‘politics’, as Maddison and Denniss (2009) report, refers to more than just the activities of governments; it is an aspect of all social relations and is a central part of any situation where groups of people make decisions and policies.

As far as this argument is concerned, public policy is distinguished from politics and the policies of the private organisations, and it may be seen simply as the affairs of governments. Thus Baker et al (1975:23) define it as, “*a body of principles to guide actions*”. Similarly, Starling (1979:4) defines policy as, “*a kind of guide that delimits action*”. Nevertheless, this is how ideology is often defined in the political theory literature. In consequence, a risk of a conceptual overlap can occur here unless care is taken to specify the way in which the two concepts, ideology and policy, are related. Taking a descriptive approach, Paine and Naumes (1975:5-7) define policy as, “*organisational decisions and goals involving wide ramification, a long-term perspective and a use of critical resources towards perceived opportunities in changing the environment*”. A more universally applicable definition is presented by Pollitt et al (1979: ix) who see policy as, “*a continuous process of decisions and activities which take place principally within definite organisational structures; such structures may be public or private, further, it is strategic decisions*”. Pollitt’s definition avoids the tendency to confine policy only to the public sector. For the moment, it is possible to note that policy, to

these writers, is seen as an intellectual and continuing process of decision-making that occurs within defined organisational structures. This view can be considered as an appropriate start for defining the policy concept, yet is still imprecise, as it does not demonstrate the whole understandable meaning of policy.

However, others have sought to do better than that; for example, Easton (1965:130) notes that, *“a policy consists of a web of decisions and actions that allocate values on the whole society as well as it is the means by which societal values are authoritatively allocated”*. As a variant on this, Heclo (1972: 85) suggests that a policy should usefully be considered as, *“a course of action pursued under the authority of governments”*. Moreover, it *“concerns organising purposive action in a society by state authority”*. To Heclo, policy is something bigger than a particular or specific decision or action; it must include all government actions, whether what is intended or what has occurred as a result of the intention. Similarly, Smith (1976:13) states that, *“the concept of policy denotes, among other things, deliberate choice of action or inaction rather than effects of interrelating forces”*. This definition emphasises that policy should refer to all government actions and inactions. According to Smith, non-action does not in fact mean ignorance on the part of those who should decide. It may mean that a decision has been made that no action would be taken about a particular matter or issue. Although the decision that no action would be taken is not represented in the legislative enactments, it is still a part of a possible response to the considered issue even though this may be difficult to observe.

Seeking to extend this linkage, policy is described in Dye's often quoted words, *“what governments do, why they do it and what difference it makes”* (Dye, 1976:2). This definition takes our attention to consider the object of policy and think about how the government is

trying to address, develop and process policy problems. It permits the exploration of the variety of meanings that have historically been attached to the process of producing policy. This simply means that a particular consideration should go to all government activities including the process of making a policy, which gets less attention until the late 1970s when some policy analysts and academics start to develop their interests in furthering understanding of policy analysis. The latter has emerged to provide a better understanding of the policy process and to supply decision makers with reliable policy-relevant knowledge about pressing economic and social problems. Thus, Hogwood and Gunn (1991), present a typology that comprises seven varieties of policy analysis including the analyses of: policy content, policy process, policy outputs, policy evaluation, policymaking, policy advocacy and policy advocacy. According to Hill (2009), the analysis of the policy process requires increased attention in order to focus on the stages through which policy issues are generated, developed and passed; and attempts need to be made to assess the influence of different factors on the development of the policy issue. Attention is also required in order to focus on the policy process within an organisation or a particular community. As the main focus of this chapter is to examine the public policy process, this issue will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

Public policy as a course of government action or inaction has not inhibited some writers from suggesting a specific definition that can serve as a way to articulate public policy in similar terms. Jenkins (1978:13-5) for instance, defines public policy as, *“an action and inaction of the political authority”*. Further, it is a set of interrelated decisions taken by political actors or a group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve. This view is also expressed by Al Manofi (1988:

16) who sees policy as, *“a set of interrelated decisions towards achieving specific goals”*. Jenkins’ definition fits very well into what is being done in this study; it is a study of a set of decisions and actions taken by the Libyan authority concerning the direction, pattern and goals of public policy as well as the allocation of public resources to achieve planned goals, which at least in the perception of the authority is a task it can achieve. It is a study about what course of actions and how is it taken to meet intended goals, and ensure that those goals are being met to an optimal standard. It is concerned with the Libyan authorities’ procedures in making policy decisions for dealing with policy problems through a sequential pattern of activities and a set of consistent processes.

In addition, Hogwood and Gunn (1991) discuss a number of common uses of the word policy: policy as a label for a field of activities; an expression of general purpose or desired state of affairs; a specific proposal; decisions of government arising from crucial moments of choice; a specific act or statute; and, outputs of the political process which is what the government actually delivers as opposed to what has promised or authorised through legislation. Further it is, *“a series of patterns of related decision to which many circumstances, individuals or groups, and organisational influences have contributed”* (p23-24). According to Hogwood & Gunn, certain incontrovertible characteristics can be identified here. Policy should be distinguished from a decision as it is a bigger and higher level decision. It involves intentions and a purposive course of actions to achieve specified goals. It arises from a process over time, which may involve both intra and inter-organisational relationships. Thus, in general usage; policy as a purposive course of actions and inactions is defined. The purposeful aspect in the policy definition is expressed by numerous writers. Those who see public policy as a purposive course of action taken by governmental bodies and followed by an actor or a set of actors, in dealing with a matter of concern to achieve the

desired objectives and testing their consequences in structured processes (Anderson, 1979; Fischer, 1995; James, 1997; Fenna, 2004; Althaus *et al.*, 2007 and Howlett and Ramesh, 2009). However Considine (1996:4) sees policy as, *“an action which employs governmental authority to commit resources in support of a preferred value”*. It is also, *“a continuing work done by groups of actors who use available public institutions to express things they value”*.

From what has been written so far, public policy may commonly be perceived as an authoritative course of actions or inactions with regards to a particular issue or a set of issues. It refers to a distinct path of action, which is suitable for the pursuit of desired goals within a particular context, directing the decision-making of a political organisation. Dye (2010) confirms this idea by suggesting a definition that responds to the all activities of governments, by defining policy as, *“whatever governments choose to do or not to do”* (p3). It is necessary to qualify this definition because it focuses not only on government actions that are taken to achieve definite goals; it also focuses on what is occurred as a result of the intention. It includes anything governments do or don't do as much whatever circumscribes influences or defines the action itself. However, Anderson (2010) comments that Dye's definition may be adequate for ordinary discourse, but for setting out a systematic analysis of public policy, a more precise definition or concept is needed. But, he does not depart from this view by defining policy as, *“a relatively stable, purposive course of action or inaction followed by an actor or a set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern”* (p6). Anderson's definition draws attention to stress that policy is still regarded as a course of government actions and inactions. It is considered and developed by governmental bodies and officials who as Easton (1965) notes, called 'the authorities', those who mainly engage in the daily affairs of the political system are recognised by most members of the system as having responsibility for these matters. Easton's idea of the authorities is still accredited by

various people and writers, even in current times. This is similar to Cochran and Eloise (2007) who see public policy as the results of structured interaction among various authoritative actors within the political organisation, produced through complex horizontal relationships in which the end results are the product of compromise and the accommodation of competing interests. Considine (1996) also argues that, policy is the interplay of deals and alliances among individuals and groups, including elected officials, bureaucrats, political parties, the media, interest groups and social movements; each with values, assumptions, categories, stories and languages. These are usually having authority or influence to identify and consider selected issues and policies. Three aspects can be identified here: problem, players, and the policy. The problem is an issue that needs to be addressed, and the players are individuals or groups who are influential in forming a policy plan to address the issues in question, while the policy is the finalised course of action decided by a government. Thus, Peters (2007:4) describes public policy as, *“the sum of the activities of governments, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the lives of citizens”*.

It is worthwhile at this point to decipher the common characteristics of the policy concept in order to illuminate its scope and substance. Accordingly, the common features of the policy concept can be delineated to include that: it often involves a decision-making network and intellectual structured processes comprising identifiable actors, leading to policy description, perception, consideration, analysis and choice; it involves a selection of goals within a specified situation and a selection of means to attain them; it also involves a continuous redefinition of the policy problem, mobilisation of public resources and inspirations for their effective use to reflect the changes on society; it is formally articulated goals that the government intend pursuing with a society; and, its final shape can be expressed as a policy

statement or plan composed of a series of policy objectives and programmes aimed at fostering progress in a society. In addition, it is an authoritative response to public issues or problems through the application of identified resources, and therefore, it is about making decisions and testing their consequences. Public policy in the most common of its meanings is something bigger than a particular or single decision; it is a set of interrelated decisions and purposive oriented actions, which are made to identify problems, decide what the best solution to those problems might be, and then to promote these policies in legislations. It is authoritative activities used to resolve problems and make positive changes in the community, considering a long series of related activities. It is generally regarded as what governments intended to do or not to do.

Nevertheless, public policy definition inseparably shares tangential boundaries with other related terms such as strategy, objective, programme, project and decision (Paine and Naumes, 1975; Charles, 2001). To gain a clearer understanding of public policy, it is essential to consider what delineates its confines from those of other tangled terms.

2.2.2 Public Policy and other Related Concepts

In order to facilitate a clearer understanding of the scope and substance of public policy, it is necessary to draw a distinction between policy and other related concepts that share with tangential boundaries.

A strategy, as described by Rose and Lawton (1999:121) is, “*a process of making and implementing objectives*”. Davies, (2000:25) also states that strategy is, “*a design or plan for achieving policy objectives*”. Further, it decides what operational agencies would be used to achieve the objectives, and how those agencies would be structured.

It is, “*a specific major actions or pattern of actions for attainment of policy objectives*” (Paine and Naumes, 1975:6). Strategy therefore, may be taken as the design of a set of inter-related programmes for the attainment of a single objective. Thus, it is useful to state that strategy decides how policy objectives can be achieved and determines the necessary resources by which policy objectives would be achieved and how these resources would effectively be acquired and used. It can be seen as a guideline for designing, implementing and attaining stated objectives. In general, strategy can be seen as the organic component of the policy. So, if strategy is seen in most of its common senses, as a specific action or type of action for setting and attaining certain objectives, what then is objective?

Paine and Naumes describe objectives as, “*hoped for results and goals or targets to be attained*” (p12). Hogwood and Gunn (1991:150) also describe objectives as, “*a desirable future and ultimate goals of the governmental organisations*”. This verifies what has been discussed earlier; the government actions are taken to achieve definite objectives. Althaus *et al.* (2007) argue that a policy is selected and formed to help an organisation to meet particular objectives. Thus, objectives can be seen as goal to be attained, direction to the political organisation and an organic part of policy. However, objectives are usually stated within the political organisations and involved a long time of deliberation and spirited debate. They are defined by particular participants those who are either part of the political organisation or have institutionalised access. Objectives can also be either specific or general, translating into a set of programmes. So, what is a programme?

A programme, as defined by Starling (2010:189) is, “*a specific element of plan and it is a unit of strategy by which the organs of policy are made*”. Hogwood (1991:153) also describes it as, “*a specific means by which the political organisations can achieve its stated objectives*”. Programme therefore, is the units of which objectives are made and a major

aspect of policy, and policy cannot be implemented without being translated into action programmes. In this sense, a variety of programmes may be developed in response to the same policy objectives. Programmes can finally be administrated in the form of specific projects or as (Vereecke, 2003 and Pellegrinelli, 1997) note, it is a framework for interrelated projects, which are managed in a corresponding way to achieve a common objectives. This indeed has been the case with the present study, as the final shape of the Libyan public policy is expressed in the form of a policy plan that comprises a series of objectives, programmes and projects (the organic components of policy) aimed at achieving progress of the Libyan society. Details of how policy objectives and programmes are defined, developed and implemented as a key activity of the government will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Finally, policy should also be distinguished from a decision, which is defined by Simon, (1997:61) as, *“a rational choice involves selecting alternatives which are conducted to achieve a set of objectives within an organisation”*. Hogwood and Gunn, (1991:15) also see a decision as, *“a specific action that arises from a moment of selection among alternatives”*. Decision therefore, is a calculated choice and a selection among options whose consequences rank the highest in political organisation’s evaluation function. However, Majone (1981:15) states that a decision in the sense of the decision theory is, *“a choice or judgment made on the basis of available data among well-defined courses of action whose consequences under alternatives “states” of the world are reasonably well understood”*. As he argues, the decision theoretical paradigm does not recognise any essential difference between decision and policy; it gives a meaning of decision to be adopted as a policy. In fact a decision is completely different to policy; it is a moment of selection among alternatives. While policy as mentioned earlier in the most common of its sense is something bigger than a single decision; it is a set of interrelated decisions and purposive oriented actions. However,

decisions are required at any stage during the designing and the selection of a policy as well as a strategy, objectives, programmes and projects.

After a distinction between public policy and the other related terms has been drawn, it is possible to suggest that public policy, as shown in Figure 2.1, has a much wider scope than decision, strategy, objective and programme. In fact, these terms can be seen as its organic components, in particular the strategies by which policy objectives and programmes would be selected, designed, implemented and attained. Public policy also cannot exist without being expressed in its final shape as a policy statement or plan comprising of a series of objectives, programmes and projects aimed at achieving developments in the society. Therefore, it is advisable to re-emphasise what has already been demonstrated throughout this discussion; public policy can be seen as continuous government actions and inactions towards achieving desirable ends. The latter are the outputs of the political process, produced through using government authorities and expenditures (Qandeel, 1988; Mascarenhas, 1996 and Heywood, 2007). Policy outputs, as Lowi (1964) reports, are classified into different types of policies, depending on their effect on society. The purpose of this classification is to divide and arrange an aggregate mass of various policies into categories, which may help to distinguish the natural components of each type and understand power relationships among individuals and groups involved in the policy process.



Figure 2.1: Public Policy and other Related Concepts

2.2.3 The Classification of Public Policy

Policy classification is called policy typology, originally founded by Lowi in 1964. The typologies, as Jon and Scott (2004) note, draw their theoretical strength from the idea that public policies can be systematically classified and that associated with each policy category, are distinct and predictable patterns of political behaviour. Lowi's (1964, 1972) original typology is based on three types of policy: "distributive, redistributive and regulatory policies" and later extended to include "constituent policies". By this typology, Lowi intends to relate types of policy to a designative area of policy and each type may be characterised by its own political structure as well as differs according to the type of policy issue it deals with. He also argues that policy determines politics and that the political relationships which make up the policy process will change depending on the type of policy and the level of conflict over the selected policy. Therefore, Lowi describes his typologies according to the effect that each type of policy has on society. As he points out, the distributive policies are those that concern the allocation of services and benefits to members of the community, either as individuals or groups through spending for welfare, public education, health and the building of roads. In this type of policy as he argues, everyone in the society gains and no one in particular will lose, and the conflict among people over this policy is usually low or totally absent. While, the redistributive policies transfer and reallocate services and benefits from one group to another, such as the tax-transfer system, which usually involve the deliberate reallocation of wealth from higher to lower income individuals (Sefton, 2006). The regulatory policies concern the regulation of individual or group behaviour, through setting rules concerning the ways that define the citizen's rights and duties, and regulate their activities in society. These policies usually limit the discretion of individuals and agencies, or otherwise compel certain types of behaviour. Thus, they are generally thought to be best applied when good behaviour can be easily defined and bad behaviour can be easily regulated and punished

through fines or sanctions. A fairly successful example of regulatory policies is that of a speed limit act; however, these policies, as Jenkins (1978) notes, may draw much critical attention. The final type of policies in Lowi's typology is the constituent or structural policies, which create executive power entities and deal with laws as well as with fiscal policy in some circumstances.

Further writers have responded to this innovation by modifying Lowi's typology to include additional categories. For example, Salisbury and Heinz (1970) suggest 'self-regulatory policies', where groups accept constraints in return for beneficial options regulated by offers and demands of the market or ethical ideas (e.g., doctors and professional licensing). Anderson (2010) also states that the self-regulatory policies tend to be controlled by the regulated groups, such as professional codes of conduct for lawyers or doctors. Salisbury and Heinz also argue that the distributive, redistributive, regulatory and self-regulatory policies that emerged as outputs of the political processes result from various types of interaction between different patterns of demands and the structures of the policy systems. They also suggest that the interaction within the political structure often generates two principal types of policies, namely, 'distributive and structural'. The distributive policies are, *"decisions that confer direct benefits, materials or symbolic to have impacts on individuals and groups in a society"* (p: 47). On the other hand, the structural policies are decisions which establish rules to guide future allocations, and are more likely to include regulatory and self-regulatory policies instead of distributive or redistributive policies. In addition to this, policies are classified as either 'material' or 'symbolic', depending on whether they allocate tangible, concrete resources and substantive power or appeal more to social values such as social justice or patriotism. The material policies, as Anderson (2010) notes, might include the provision of public housing or other subsidiaries, whereas the symbolic policies might

include the proclamation of public holidays. However, in certain situations, the material policies may apparently be rendered largely symbolic if they are implemented ineffectively or not adequately resourced. Qandeel (1988:113) also suggests a further category called ‘tributary policies’, which mainly deal with the ways and sources of government funds, such as taxations, voluntary services and foreign aids and loans.

However, Smith (2002) and Anderson (2010) argues that public policies can be categorised into seven pairs, including distributive and re-distributive, regulatory and self-regulatory, substantive and procedural, material and symbolic, collective and individual, behavioural and structural, liberal and conservative. According to them, substantive policies deal with substantive issues, such as decisions about infrastructure, the environment, defence, and social security. Procedural policies, by contrast, concern the process by which something is to be done or who is going to take action, such as the rules that govern the way by which a government can carry out its duties, the areas over which it has authority and the processes or strategies it can use to carry out its work. Collective policies are equally and universally provided for all people in society and usually include the national defence and security services. While, individual policies are private and provided in divisible ways, they target particular groups in the society, such as exemptions policies. Liberal policies are proactive and favour the public sector such as the pension-able policy, while conservative policies are related to reactions of the governments by adopting laissez faire policy. The principle of these policies is to allow private activity to develop without government control.

Although, some writers have tried to modify Lowi’s original typology by mixing policy categories or by increasing their number, they seem to have not eliminated Lowi’s four original well-known policy categories (distributive, redistributive, regulatory and constituent

or structural policies). In fact, they have duplicated the understanding of this issue rather than resolving it, creating, as a result, a different set of classifications instead of specifying how to assign policies to those categories.

However, the classification of policies may be useful for analytical purpose, but in practice some policy categories are predominantly overlapped. For instance, the distributive policies may take the form of materials or symbols, such as providing directly services and advantages to all people equally and universally, while the re-distributive policies are set to target particular groups or individuals in society. These policies are considered as the main measurable types of policies that can be examined in this study, because the Libyan government has, since the establishment of the republic in 1969, adopted a strategy of achieving rapid social and economic development with a high degree of welfare. It has largely depended on oil revenues and the public sector in financing and implementing its policy programmes – many of which are in education, health and housing areas. It considers how to deliver and improve public services to the all citizens. These can be considered as distributive and re-distributive policies, having received the highest priorities, especially during the first years of the republic. Accordingly, some questions can be raised at this stage. Have the national resources appropriately been allocated among policy objectives and programmes? Have the public services, benefits and materials equally and universally been delivered to all people, either as individuals or groups, and how? These questions and others related to the Libyan government activities will be discussed in Chapter 6.

It is a clear that the outputs, as the final products of the government activities, are usually produced in terms of programmes and projects as commonly used in government policy plan to satisfy public demands. Nonetheless, the issue here is how this satisfaction can be

measured. In fact, as Eyestone (1984) argues, the major problem for public policy is that the quality of its outputs cannot be measured in quantifiable terms. Public satisfaction, therefore, cannot be measured in countable units in such matters as education, housing, and health services. The difficulty in measurement here arises because policy decisions deal with value choices and the provision of social services. Thus, at best, policy outputs only can be measured in terms of the values which are expressed in the selected policies. This is what will also be considered in this study, with an evaluation of how these policies are selected, which at least in the perception of the authorities is a task that can be achieved by preparing policy plans. Policies therefore, are not just static lists of goals or laws, they are dynamic and designed to be implemented, and often have unexpected results. They are only the ends of government products, which involve a long time of consideration, different activities and decisions concerning particular issues. Such decisions usually arise from the perception that there is a problem to be considered and issues should be addressed. Therefore, the policies, as the outputs of the political processes, should be considered from emergence to delivery. This is not easily understood without examining the policy processes through which policy ideas and issues are identified, defined, developed and processed into policy outputs. This is the main focus of this study, which investigates how public policy is made through a series of sequential processes, and identifies the key stakeholders involved in these processes to clarify the activities in the public policy process.

2.3 Public Policy Process

According to Hogwood and Gunn (1984), policy process is concerned with how policies are actually made through a series of sequential stages in terms of the actions taken by various actors. Heywood (2007) also defines the policy process, as an activity taking place over a long period of time with a view of changing and transforming an issue into an existing policy.

Anderson (2010) sees policy process as a sequential pattern of activities or functions that can readily be distinguished. Thus, policy process is, in many respects, continuous processes that have been developed for a long period of time. It reflects the impact of government actions on society; that is, its ability to make things better or worse. Therefore, it can be seen as a set of chronological stages; and each stage requires a significant amount of time and frequently debate, full of vigorous opposing opinions, concessions, and unanticipated complications. Accordingly, policy analysis, including the policy process as a distinctive area of study, have witnessed more development since the 1980s, to be used as a tool for analysing the development of a policy ideas and issues through a set of sequential processes. Birkland (2010) also suggests that policy process is a sort of system that translates policy ideas into policies that are implemented and have positive/negative effects on society. Therefore, it is important to understand the developments of the policy process and links between its various stages.

In literature, several models of policy stages have been developed to assist the comprehension of the complexities of the policy making process as well as to analyse the policy process in terms of stages. For example, Simon (1955) identifies three main stages of the policy process including intelligence, design and choice. Lasswell (1956) came up with an approach consisting of seven stages: intelligence, promotion, perception, invocation, application, termination, and appraisal. Mack (1971) also presents a model that includes the following stages: deciding to decide, problem recognition, formulating alternative and criteria, decision proper, effectuation and correction and supplementation. Here, it can be noted that this approach presents a clear idea about the policy process and provides an appropriate model for analysing the policy process in terms of stages.

Another approach is introduced by Rose (1973) who considers the policy process from a wide perspective by giving much more detail about the stages of the policy process. Rose suggests several stages for analysing the policy process including: public recognition of the need for a policy to exist, how issues are placed on the agenda, public controversy, how demands are advanced, the form of government involvement in policy-making, resources and constraints, policy decisions, what determines governmental choice, choice in its context, implementation, outputs, policy evaluation and finally feedback. Jenkins (1978) comes close to defining the policy process by providing an approach in seven stages: initiation, formulation, consideration, decision, implementation, evaluation and termination. Jenkins's approach provides applicable stages in which the policy process can be considered and analysed. In addition, Hogwood and Gunn (1984) go further by giving more details to Jenkins's approach, particularly to the initiation and formulation stages. Their approach comprises the following stages: issue search or agenda setting, issue filtration, issue definition, forecasting, setting objective and priorities, options analysis, implementation, evaluation, and policy succession and termination. One standardised version is introduced by Parsons (1996) to be used as a tool for analysing the development of policy item. As illustrated in Figure (2.2), it includes seven stages starting with problem recognition and ending at the same starting point. Parsons' model consists of: problem recognition, problem definition, identifying alternatives, evaluation of options, selection of the policy option, implementation, and finally evaluation. In a similar vein, Althaus *et al.* (2007) develop an eight-stage approach to examine the Australian policy process. The approach includes issue identification, policy analysis, policy instrument development, policy consultation, coordination, decision, implementation and finally evaluation (see Figure 2.3).

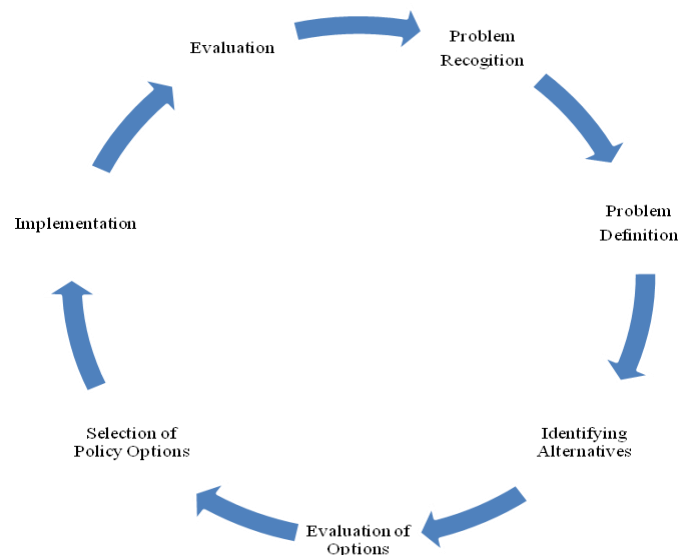


Figure 2.2: Policy Stages Approach
Source: Parsons (1996)

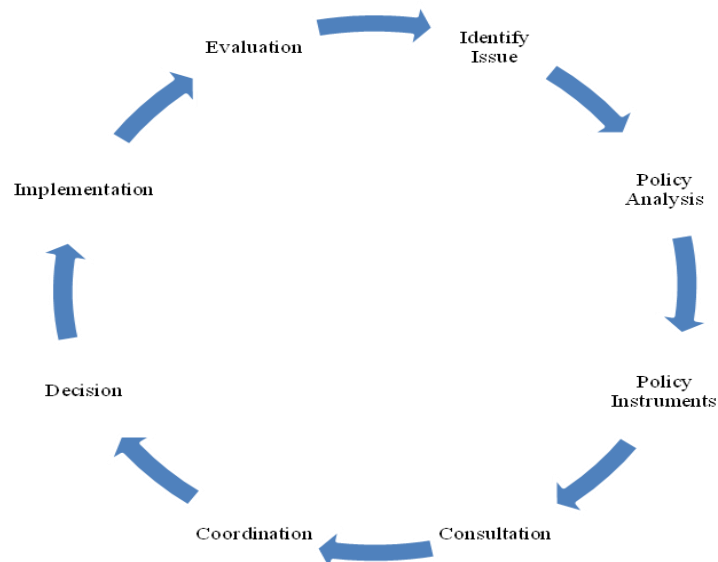


Figure 2.3: The Australian Policy Stages Approach
Source: Althaus *et al.* (2007)

For these authors, the idea of policy stages is aimed at explaining how public policy is made through a cycle of sequential processes and demonstrate that policy processes are a series of interconnected stages and actions. Policy processes therefore can be examined in terms of stages. This view is supported by some authors, such as Anderson (2010), who provides a conceptual framework involving five stages: problem identification and agenda setting, policy formulation, adoption, implementation and evaluation. In a more-or-less similar way,

Dye (2010) suggests a model consisting of the following stages: identification of policy problems through demands for government actions, agenda setting concerning specific public problems or issues to decide what will be decided, formulation of policy proposals, legitimating of policy through political actions, policy implementation, and finally policy evaluation.

All in all what emerges from the previous discussion of approaches is that there is a variety of analytical ways of distinguishing between different 'stages' in the policy process. These stages begin with problem consideration and defining policy agenda, to the design of policy plan, and putting the selected policy into effect. In other words, the policy process is regarded as a series of chronological stages, starting with problem identification and ending with policy review. Typically, the policy stages approach embrace processes about how policy ideas and issues emerge and are set on the agenda, which is described by Jenkins (1978) as 'initiation' or 'deciding to decide' by Mack (1971). The initiation stage is followed by the selection of goals and the determination of the course of action that would be taken to achieve them; this is described as 'formulation'. The application and implementation come after the formulation, and finally there may be feedback and evaluation leading to decisions about policy maintenance, succession or termination, as described by Hogwood and Gunn (1991). The policy stages approach is widely used in textbooks on the subject of public policy, not least as a useful tool for policy analysis. This issue is stressed by Parsons (1996) who considers it as providing a systematic approach to capture the multiplicity of reality. Each 'stage' relates to a specific part of the context in which public policy is being made, while within that partial context various variables and approaches can be seen as appropriate. Although no particular approach of the policy process is universally agreed, the policy literature suggests that a useful approach should consist generally of a set of four major

functional stages including the stages of problem identification and agenda setting, formulation of policy proposal or statement of intent, implementation and finally evaluation. The strength of this literature is its deconstruction of the policy process as an analytical separation into functional stages and identification of roles performed in various stages. Consequently, various authors have used this approach to develop concepts explaining the behaviour of actors throughout the policy process. A very accurate depiction of the policy process is captured by Heywood (2007) when he divides the policy process into four main stages including initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation. It may be useful to think about the policy process from this perspective, at least for analytical purpose, as they may occur in identifiable stages in practice. Therefore, each of these stages will be examined as a distinctive type of government activity in order to get a better understanding of how governments select and put policies into effect, take actions to implement them and allocate financial resources to bring these outputs into existence.

2.4 Stages of the Policy Process

The policy process involves four main stages taking place over a long period of time to transform an issue into an existing policy. The stages start with the generation of policy ideas and issues, and end by implementing and evaluating the selected policy. According to Edward (2008), public policy is initiated from conscious reflection and deliberation, and may reflect a variety of intentions and ideas. As he argues, it starts with ideas which may be expressed in the form of demands/claims for the provision of new governmental products and services. The ideas may also be expressed in the form of complaints about some observed defects in existing services or policies, calling for their improvement. Therefore, it may be stated that policy ideas basically grow from the society needs, to constitute the basis of public policy. The policy ideas and their expression, therefore, are a key stage in generating a

policy, and referred to as policy initiation. The latter is a very significant stage in the policy process because, as Heywood (2007) notes, it structures all subsequent debates, discussions and decision-making. It is crucial in that sense as it involves perception, recognition, and definition of policy problem and issue. In this stage, a policy problem is brought to the attention of the government for consideration, sometimes by individual citizens or groups, or by lobbyists who come to speak out on an issue. It is often thought that government, as an authoritative body, is the key body responsible for identifying policy problem and setting the policy agenda. Within the agenda-setting stage, the government officials and agencies meet to discuss the problem at hand and decide the agenda items. The latter usually includes a list of important issues that should be considered to resolve problems and make positive changes in the society (Dearing and Rogers, 1996).

Once policy problems are sufficiently identified as policy issues, those in charge with a responsibility for policy consideration begin to act. The consideration of how to respond to public demands, and the determination of what the best possible response that will be used, is called formulation. What precisely is done at this stage is laying down an action plan considered to be the appropriate response to the public demands as the finalised course of action decided by the government. The public opinions and interests should ideally rank among one of the biggest factors in policy formulation. The latter is assessed and refined among experts to find the best possible wordings and compromises on issues that are important to one side or the other. Thus, policy formulation is arguably the most important stage in the policy process having identified needs, expressed as policy issues on a particular agenda. As Anderson (2010) argues, it involves the development of a pertinent and acceptable proposed course of action for dealing with a public problem. More specifically, it involves the identification of the problem, the causes of the problem, the various alternatives

for resolving this problem, the selection of the most satisfactory alternatives, and finally the decisions which are made regarding the best policy. Therefore, an action plan is developed in this stage by putting the policy plan into detailed statements about what is to be done. This, as Hogwood and Gunn (1991) comment, is conducted through a description, prescription, and interpretation of wide proposals into detailed statement of policy objectives and programmes aiming to foster a progress in a society and satisfy public demands. The statement is laid out throughout certain actions, including deciding issues, issue definition and forecasting, setting objectives and priorities, and options analysis. These actions are usually taken within the political organisation through debate over a long period, involving the analysis of policy proposals and defining what exact policy should be introduced. Usually, the final shape of policy is formulated in terms of a policy plan. The latter, as Starling (2010) reports, typically carries statements about policy objectives and priorities, strategies, policy programmes and projects, and adequate allocations in which intended aims can be achieved.

After a policy is formulated and its action plan is designed, the next stage is to adopt the policy by the legislators' vote, on whether or not the formulated policy should be enacted into law. At this stage, the public and the media may play a vital role in influencing the issues on consideration to be enacted into law. This can be done through appealing to their MPs and encouraging them to vote for or against the considered issues. Once the policy has been enacted and approved by the parliament, suggestions for implementation are passed to the executive branch of government. Adopted policies are put into effect by taking the preferred course of action. In the policy process literature, this is called implementation and may be described as the actualisation stage of the policy process; the stage at which the public demands are really responded to. It is also described by John (1998: 27) as, "*the post-legislative stages of decision making*". Further it is, "*the stage in the policy process*

concerned with turning policy intentions into action” (p204). Similarly, O’Toole (1995: 43) remarks that policy implementation *“refers to the connection between the expression of governmental intention and actual results”*. Implementation is also conceived by Quah (1984: 110) as, *“actions taken by public organisations and their members in order to attain goals identified by policy-makers during the policy formulation stage”*. Likewise Jenkins (1978: 205) defines implementation as, *“a process of interaction between the setting of goals and acting agenda to achieve these goals”*. Meter and Horn (1975) also describe implementation as those actions that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions.

The above explanations make clear the relationship between policy choice and expected outcomes. This, in fact, is the task of the implementation, which means bringing these outcomes into existence through political and administrative actions, including the identification of the implementing agencies and implementers; the allocation of responsibilities and resources among the various implementing agencies; and the monitoring of the activities of the implementing agencies and implementers. Thus, policy implementation ideally involves a consideration of how the national resources are allocated at the formulation stage as well as the monitoring and measurement of the realised outcomes as a result of these actions. Consequently, policy implementation includes all activities that must be undertaken and the course of action to be followed in order to accomplish the intended objectives of a given policy. The success of any given policy depends on how well it has been implemented.

However, the implementation experiences, as Berman (1988) argues, are replete with cases in which the implementation does not lead to the expected outcomes. Clarke (1992) also states that policy implementation has suffered from certain defects, particularly between what the

governments intend to achieve and the actual attainments. According to Clarke, this is called 'slippage', which is the only discernible pattern of implementation. Indeed, most selected policies during their implementation usually suffer from 'slippage' or defects. The 'slippage' can also be known as 'implementation gaps or implementation failures', which usually happens when what is done is neither what was fully intended nor expected (DeLeon, 1999a). It also happens as a result of a poor chain of command and of problems with structures and roles; poor information flows or learning problems; management conflict; the culture of an organisation; subconscious forces, a self-referencing system and as a result of power in and around the implementation process (Parsons, 1996). Thus, it is appropriate to state that policy outputs are not always the same as their impacts or their outcomes. The latter, as described by Lane and Ersson (2000:62-3) are, "*the real results or impacts on society, whether intended or unintended, while the former the things that are actually achieved, whatever the objectives of policy may have been*". The outputs may be successful and consistent but fail to have the desirable effects on society. This is because they may have been based on a false premise as to cause and effect. Consequently, Lane and Ersson emphasise the need for a clear distinction between the outputs and the outcomes. Analysing policy implementation from this perspective has not been appropriately recognised until the early 1970s in the USA, and later in other Western countries. Since then a considerable attention has been given by authors to focus on the missing link between the policy outputs and the policy outcomes. Particular attention has also been given to the consideration of the efficiency and effectiveness of the implemented policy (Hill, 2009). This enhances the significance of implementation as a distinctive process and a type of government activity concerned with the efficiency and effectiveness of policy.

The efficiency, as Lawton and Rose (1994) state, has to do with the relationship between the inputs and the outputs. As such, it can be defined as the means that secure the achievement of objectives and the actual outputs with the least use of resources. Thus, an efficient policy is one where the objectives are being achieved with the least possible use of resources. Consideration is given to minimise the ingredient of inputs to outputs or, alternatively, maximise outputs in relation to inputs or both. The determinant of this relation is the process which transforms the inputs into the outputs. This is the function of government organisations that attempt to achieve their objectives with a minimum use of resources. The efficiency, therefore, measures the relationship between the cost and benefits of a policy or programme. The effectiveness, on the other hand, is concerned with the relationship between intended policy outputs and the actual impacts of implemented policy on society. It is about achieving what is really preferred as well as the quality and the appropriateness of outputs. It focuses on the definition of objectives, the measurement of progress towards achieving those objectives, and the consideration of alternative ways of achieving those objectives (Lawton and Rose, 1994). The relationship between policy efficiency and policy effectiveness is illustrated in Figure (2.4).

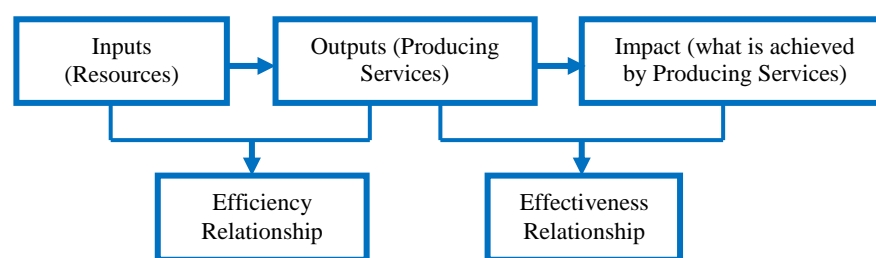


Figure 2.4: The Relationship between Policy Efficiency and Policy Effectiveness

Source: Lawton and Rose (1994)

However, the government agencies, as a responsible body for implementing selected policies, often manipulate effectively their intended objectives, but at the end they may find their outputs fail to have satisfactory effects on society. This may be due to the inefficiency of the allocated resources or the ineffectiveness of the implementing agencies. Hogwood and Gunn

(1993) also argue that implemented policies sometimes are ineffective not because they are badly implemented, but they may be based upon an inadequate understanding of considered issues. This matter will be considered in Chapter 6.

When the policy has been in effect for enough time, the legislators analyse the effectiveness of the policy. This analysis is based on information gathered from statistics and opinions of the executive bodies and people who have worked on implementation. If the policy needs to be altered to account for unforeseen complications, amendments can be added to the policy. This is called evaluation in literature as the final stage in the policy process. Evaluation, then, concerns what happens during and after the implementation of a policy. It involves activities intended to determine what a policy is accomplishing, whether it has achieved its goals, and whether it has other consequences. Within this context, Anderson (2010) and Dye (2010) argue that a number of questions need to be asked in this stage: Did the implementation achieve the objectives set out in the action plan? Who is involved? Who is advantaged and disadvantaged by policy? What are the consequences of policy evaluation? Are there demands for changes in or repeal of the policy? Are new problems identified? Is the policy process related because of evaluation? And finally, do implemented policies have any beneficial effects on the society? If so, what are they? These questions and many others that are asked at this stage of the policy process are related to policy evaluation, which may help policy makers to learn about consequences of implemented policies.

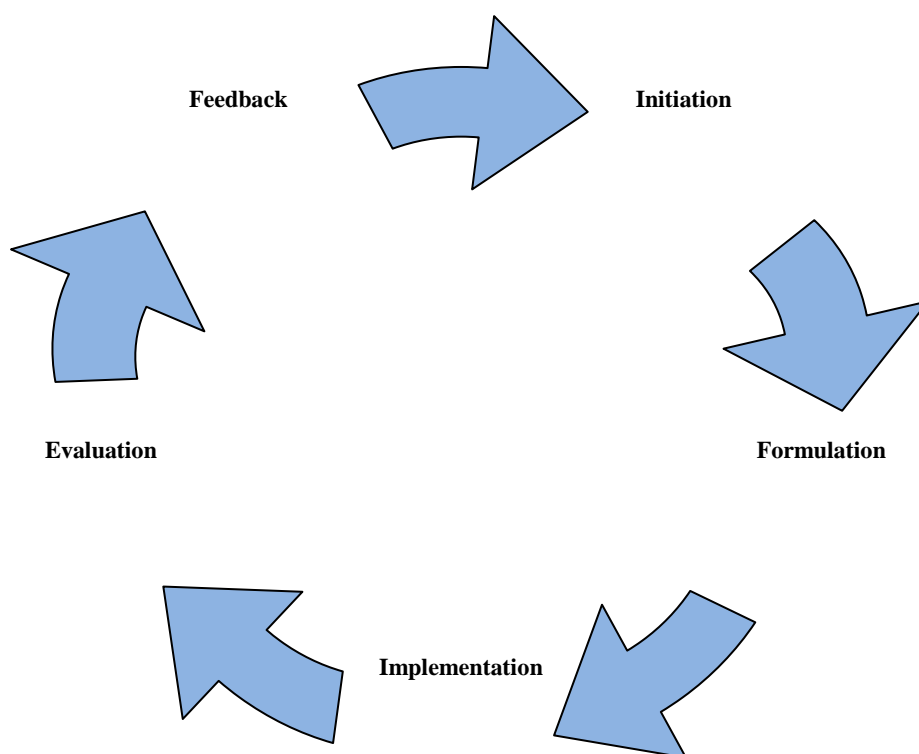
As a result, evaluation is defined by Rossi and Wright (1979:103) as, “*a scientific activity undertaken to assess the operation and impact of selected policies and the action programmes introduced to implement those policies*”. Similarly, Rossi *et al.* (2004: 65) state that it is, “*a systematic, rigorous, and meticulous application of scientific methods to assess*

the design, implementation, improvement or outcomes of a programme”. Wollann (2007) also argues that evaluation can be seen as an analytical tool and procedural mean, which involves investigating the policy programme to obtain all information pertinent to the assessment of its performance –both process and results– and then reporting such information back to the policy decision-process. It assesses the effects and consequences of implemented policies and actions in order to feed the information into the upcoming or on-going policy decision-process.

Evaluation therefore is concerned with the estimation and assessment of policy, including measuring its impact on a society. Policy impact, as described by Dye (2010), includes the impact on: the target situation or group, groups other than the target, future and immediate conditions, and finally the direct and indirect costs of devoted resources. Thus, the evaluation should measure the impact of policies and not just their outputs. Policy impact, in fact, is not the same as policy outputs. The latter relates to what the government actually delivers in terms of benefits or services to satisfy public demands, while the former is the actual changes occurring in a society as a result of policy intervention. Hence at the evaluation stage, it is important to consider policy effects and outcomes from this perspective. The significance of the evaluation, as the final stage of the policy process, is to identify the interim effects and results of policy programme, and to feed relevant information back into the implementation process at the point and stage when pertinent information can be used in order to adjust, correct or redirect the implementation process, or even underlying key policy decisions. Dye (2010) also describes evaluation as the assessment of the overall effectiveness of a national policy or programme in meeting its common objectives. It considers the success and failure of policy in order to help policy-makers to decide whether to continue with, rectify, or discard the selected policy. For that reason, information on the activities acquired through

evaluation, can be fed back into the initiation and formulation process, which assists in generating new policy proposals or refining and improving an existing policy.

In short, the above discussion has identified four distinct stages in the policy process – initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation. The significance of the evaluation arises as a final stage in the policy process: to examine what happens during and after the implementation of policy, to learn about consequences of a policy and to complete the cycle of the policy process. These major stages are adopted in this study for analytical purposes, but in practice, they may overlap, and often merging into one another. This is particularly the case with formulation and implementation, but is also true, to some extent, with initiation and evaluation. The latter may create new issues to be initiated into a policy proposal in a process called feedback. However, the making of policies is never truly finished and, in reality, the process is far from that outlined in literature. Issues can always be revisited over time and adjustments, corrections, or improvements can be made (see Figure 2.5).



**Figure 2.5: Simplified Diagram of the Main Stages of the Policy Process
Created by the Researcher**

Moreover, the four recognised stages of the policy process – from agenda formation to policy review – provide many opportunities for the involvement of various participants who focus their attention on the making of the public policy. Those who are involved in these stages are called actors or stakeholders. The latter are discussed in details in the next section.

2.5 Actors in the Public Policy Process

The policy process is concerned with how policies are actually made through a series of sequential stages in terms of actions taken by various actors at each stage. This can be done through bringing potential policy issues into the public arena and perceiving the needs to expose a political problem with the hope of altering an existing policy arrangement (Considine, 2005). Actors therefore can be seen as those people who have an ability to make policy decision or influence policy decision processes. They, as Gerston (2004) suggests, include individuals or groups who are influential in creating and implementing certain policies. They may also include public officials, interest groups, the bureaucracy and the mass media, who may work alone or in combination in order to place issues on the public agenda. In recent times as Hanekom (1987) notes, an acknowledgment of the role of the media, civil society, including churches in public policy, has been forthcoming.

In addition, Birkland (2010) divides players in the policy process into two main categories: official and unofficial actors. Official actors are involved in the policy process by virtue of their statutory or constitutional responsibilities and have the power to make and enforce policies. The legislative, executive, and judicial branches are clearly official institutions. The legislative and the executive branches are the most important and obvious actors in the policy process as a result of their responsibilities and roles in suggesting policy issues and making policy decisions. The primary function of the legislative branch is to suggest bills as the most

common form of legislation or legislative proposals dealing with either domestic or foreign issues. The government as an executive branch can also be considered as a sole responsible body for making policy decisions and implementing selected policies as bodies with a mandate to give order to various aspects of the lives of their citizens. It can be considered to be made up of multiple actors including the executive individual ministries and departments, and national councils. Unofficial actors on the other hand include those who play a role in the policy process without any explicit legal authority or duty to participate, aside from the usual rights of participants in a democracy. Thus, the interest groups are involved in politics and the policy process not because they are sanctioned in law, but because they are an effective way for many people to collectively express their desires for policy. The media also have a constitutional right to freedom of the press because of their implicit roles as provider of political information.

Therefore, the examination of actors should focus on those people who play a significant role in each distinctive stage of the policy process. Those who identify policies and issues, and set policy agendas, develop policy proposals and formulate policy plans, implement selected policies and finally review implemented policies and evaluate their outcomes. Each identified stage of the policy process may involve different actors or a combination of actors -official and unofficial actors. The latter are mainly politicians, administrative agencies and other organised groups and organisations, including Members of Parliament, Cabinet members, civil servants, bureaucrats, political parties, interest groups, mass media, policy experts and analysts and scientists. The main purpose of this section is to identify the principal actors involved in the policy process, both inside and outside the government. Actors in the policy initiation stage are considered first, and then actors in formulation and implementation stages will be considered together because of the very close relationship between the two stages.

The relationship exists, due to the fact that the formulation of policy is typically conducted within the government organisation, and its implementation carried out by government officials and agencies, and therefore they would mostly involve similar actors. Also, the choices which are made in the design of a policy will greatly influence the way a policy is implemented. Finally, actors at the evaluation stage are considered separately.

2.5.1 Actors in the Initiation Stage

Public policy is initiated when certain needs are recognised in the society, defined and expressed as imperative issues, and finally placed on the government agenda. Defining the problems and agenda setting, as Dye (2001) suggests, are the most important act in policy initiation, because any expressed ideas and needs that are not identified as ‘policy problems’, never become ‘policy issues’ and never gain the attention of government officials. Therefore, policy ideas expression and identification are the first and the most important step in policy initiation, because it structures, as Hyewood (2007) notes, all subsequent debate, discussion and decision-making. It is crucial in the sense that it sets the political agenda by both defining certain problems as policy issues and determining how they can be addressed. It also involves, as Edward (2008) argues, perception, recognition, and definition of the policy problem. The problem perception, as he suggests, establishes a nucleus of policy initiation starting with policy ideas. The latter may be expressed as needs, desires and demands to be transferred into the government to produce new policies. They may also be expressed as claims about existing policies which should be rectified, revised and altered or discarded. For the moment, it can be noted that policy ideas constitute the origin of policy initiation and grow from the society’s urgent needs, but how do these ideas emerge and who in the community should express these ideas, and define policy problems to gain the attention of government officials?

According to Easton (1965) there are two main sources of policy ideas-expression that can be identified. Policy ideas may be generated from the top, from the people who have the political authority and operate within the political system machinery as part of government. They may also be generated from below, from the ordinary people or 'grass roots', who do not have any official authority, but have some sort of influences on the government activities. Hill (2009) also comments that policy ideas may emerge from one of the three sources: popular demands, the external environment of the political system, and people who have authority and operate within the political system. Similarly Dye (2001; 2010) suggests that policy ideas could be initiated from the top; that is from the elite, or from the bottom, that is from the mass or ordained people. The elite, as described by Dye (2001) and Hanekom (1987), are those people who hold the political power in the society. According to them they may include the president, legislative institutions, the cabinet and select committees, public officials and civil servants. These are described by James (1997) as the political and administrative or departmental sources for policy ideas and issues. As Hanekom states, the political office bearers, the ministers of state and the appointed public officials are the most important participants in the policy initiation. The ministers, because of being appointed by the State President to administer the state department(s) assigned to them, and the public officials who act as advisors on policy initiation because of their expert knowledge as career officials of the issues dealt with in specific departments.

Consequently, policy could be initiated by one of those people when they decide to generate policy ideas or launch an initiative. This would be done, as Jones (1983) notes, because of their position of authority, which allows them to construct ideas about what ought to be done to solve a public problem. The legislative institutions, the cabinet and selected committees as the political sources of policy ideas can suggest certain issues to be considered and command

others to do what they want, or they may also be the recipients of unsolicited proposals. Also, a person in authority who has a particular interest in certain issues, can propose them and influences others around him/her to work on it and develop policy in that area. Policy ideas, as Jones (1994) points out, could also be initiated when the civil servants -as departmental sources of policy ideas- ask the ministers to take decisions on an issue. This type of policy issue is usually a mid-term revision to the existing policies, which are inevitably made by government. In this case, their ideas, views and suggestions that are offered as advice to their ministers, would be seriously considered.

Therefore, policy initiation from the top could be referred, as Dye (2001; 2010) describes, to 'the elite model'. The main assumption of this model is that policy ideas flow down from the top and reflect the preferences and values of the elite, who have the political authority and operate within the machinery of the government. The elite influence the masses' opinion on policy questions and shape their perceptions more than the masses influence. Referring to this model, the elite are regarded as the main source of policy ideas and issues; therefore, they can be seen as the principal actor in policy initiation. This method of policy initiation may be described as an authoritarian one, and Libya, the focus of this study, has experienced this form of governing, particularly during the republic period 1969-1977, when the Revolution Command Council was created as the highest authority in the state. It was designated at the top of the political hierarchy, to become predominantly the main source of policy ideas and issues, as will be seen in Chapter 3. The authoritarianism is not appropriate in all situations, and policy should ideally initiate from the bottom (the public or 'grass roots') so that it largely reflects their preferences and demands, but in practice; how can this be done? According to Jones (1994), this can be performed through the activities of the public or ordinary people who have no official authority but they have direct access to government

agencies and influence to make demands on the government. This pattern of policy initiation can obviously be observed in many modern societies. The latter, as Hood *et al.* (2001) argue, are characterised by a distinctive role of the public and media, especially when novel types of problems emerge. The main sources of problem emergence in these societies are typically political parties, interest groups, public opinion, and mass media. Harrop (1992) also comments that the experience of the liberal democratic states can provide a variety of instruments, which may help to understand this matter. In these states, a wide range of mass participation in the political life, diversity of political parties, free expression and media, competitive elections and autonomous groups are available. Through these instruments, the public can articulate their ideas and demands.

According to Birkland (2010), the most important groupings by which people can be organised for this purpose are the political parties and the interest groups, and recently the role of communications media greatly increased. They are commonly acknowledged as the major source of policy ideas and issues. The political parties serve important functions in policy initiation. They usually make statements of their principles and manifest a set of policy proposals, particularly during the election period, and then express them to the electors in an attempt to win election and take political power. In the sense of that, they provide a rough way of transmitting public preferences from the electorate to the elected branches. The gaining of office is taken as a proof of the electors' acceptance of their policy proposals as desired demands to be achieved. The interest groups, on the other hand, are socio-economic aggregates of people who organise themselves to amplify their voice and present the interests of their members by making demands on the government and enforcing them into expected policy. In this case, they can be regarded as a dynamic force in policy initiation. In addition, the communications media are recently considered as an important participant in policy

initiation since they highlight some issues and deemphasize others and can therefore shape the public discourse surrounding a policy issue. The crucial development of the media in recent decades is the widespread impact of news and television documentary programmes, particularly on agenda setting. Documentary programmes can draw attention to certain people, organisations, and events and promote policy issues, often with the result that the issue becomes a priority matter in the government's policy agenda. So, they are a remarkable source for identifying policy problems and suggesting means for solving them. Indeed, the media have predominately been used by official and unofficial actors to affect the debate over the issue. Interest groups for example seek to get their preferred constructions of problems into the media as it is an effective means for affecting the debate over the issues. The politicians and policy makers are also sensitive to how issues are covered in the media. If coverage of their work is going badly, they often lash out at the news media or, more astutely, make changes in the course of making a policy.

Policy initiation from the bottom, thus, is more significant than from the top because a variety of policy views and ideas would be expressed by different individuals or groups of people. The expressed ideas and issues in this situation would assist in shaping policy proposals that predominantly take account of public concerns and demands, which remain shapeless and unframed until claimed or expressed by groups in society. This could be related to Libya in particular, since the political structures were essentially transformed in 1977 leading to the establishment of the Jamahiriya System and creating the People Congresses. Through these congresses, the Libyan people have been involved in expressing their ideas and demands, and generating desirable issues in different policy areas. This issue will be discussed in Chapter 6.3.2.1.

In addition to this, policy ideas may also be generated, as James (1997) argues, from the international obligations or commitments that sometimes have extensive influences on government policy, in particular those countries that are members of international organisations, such as the European Union or NATO. The international organisations may obligate their members to adopt certain idea and issues to be considered and addressed as national policy. This can also happen in states that are largely dependent on foreign assistance in financing their public policies. The international obligations may include new scientific evidence, which may have an influence on national policies.

However, Sutton (1999) goes further to draw a list of issues which are intended primarily as a guide to the generating of policy. As he argues, policy may initiate: when a development problem is turned into a ‘story which simplifies it and sets out an agenda for action; there is a general consensus within a society a change is needed and a new policy direction is required; a development problem is analysed in a scientific, technical way, producing tangible data that offer something concrete to act on; a person in authority has a particular interest in a certain issue and as a result those around him/her are influenced to work on it and develop policy in that area; there is a dominant influential group that has close links with policy makers, and forces an issue on to the agenda; when there is an individual or a group of people who have an idea for a new policy direction and a dominant debate, or a way of thinking becomes established which makes clear certain priorities providing guidance towards certain policy directions.

Thus, policy initiation is a crucial stage of structuring all subsequent stages of the policy process that shape the development of a policy. It tends to lie in a combination of various influences and may involve a wide range of actors within and outside government, who

constantly seek to influence and shape the agenda. This can be done by taking advantage of rising attention to a particular issue, dramatize a problem, or advancing a particular problem definition. Thus, policy initiation usually involves people who officially have the political power; those who are described by Howlett and Ramesh (2009) as 'state actors'. It also involves other groups who are outside government, but they have direct access to government agencies and ability of putting topics on agenda without major interference or even recognition of the public. The initiation of policy, as Howlett and Ramesh (2003) suggest, is actually characterised by different patterns of actor composition and the role of public.

2.5.2 Actors in the Formulation and Implementation Stages

Whether policy is initiated from the top or the bottom, its formulation and implementation are carried out within the bureaucratic organisations 'government executive agencies', which are predominantly run by political executives and career administrators. The bureaucratic organisations, as Massey (2001) argues, exist as responsible bodies for carrying out the will of the people -as expressed by the legislators- through the full working capacity of the elected politicians and the appointed public officials or the permanent bureaucrats. As has been discussed, the formulation of policy and implementation are typically involved with the development of a policy proposal, setting policy objectives, interpreting wide proposals into a specific and detailed statement, designing the policy plan and putting the selected policy into effect as an appropriate response to public demands. Developing policy proposals -as the first act would be taken- are often filtered, as Jones (1994) reports, through a screen of personal political experience and may also emanate from various sources, depending on the interest authority and resources of people who operate in the government agencies. They are either competitive or complementary, depending on the size and significance of the issues under consideration. The competitive proposals may involve a large number of formulators, while

the complementary may involve few people and lead to a single proposal. In both cases, the administrators who are described by Demir and Nyhan (2008) -as bureaucrats, career officials and experts with professional capability, technical skills and a distinctive knowledge about policy in their own speciality- play a large role in developing policy proposals by using their discretion to find means for handling a new situation. Their superior influence and role come from their continuity in office and great familiarity with the work of agency, which can greatly help them to generate the bureaucratic power. The latter, as Rourke (1984) argues, can be ranked depending on certain sources that may affect greatly policy development within administrative agencies. The first is usually a sharp difference in the role and attitude of political appointees at the top of the administrative pyramid and the career administrators underneath them. Second, within the ranks of career employee themselves, there is frequently a wide divergence in outlook between the professionals who employ the skills with which the agency serves, and the administrators whose chief function is keeping the organisation in existence. Therefore, the influential role of the bureaucrats in developing a policy, in particular in the 'formulation and implementation stages', is only exercised by the bureaucrats themselves. The politicians as 'political executives', who are officially at the summit of an elective organisation, also have a vital role in these processes. Their role, as Meier and O'Toole (2006) argue, is realised as they provide guidance and a set policies for the administrators to convert them into tangible results. So, due to the administrators' and the politicians' roles, they can be seen as principal actors who are involved in these processes due to virtue of their statutory and constitutional responsibilities. They are described by Minogue (1998) and Birklan (2010) as the official actors and called 'the insiders'.

The insiders, as Meier and O'Toole (2006) suggest, are typically the presidency, presidential office and the government, including the cabinet, city councillors, civil servants, selected

committees and heads of government agencies, senior officials in local authority, policy advisers and experts, and policy planners and consultants. These people are career officials who are officially responsible for developing proposals, designing the policy plan for the issue at hand, implementing selected policies and delivering policy results in an efficient and effective way. Their responsibility, as Lawton and Rose (1994) note, may come from their continuity in office and greater familiarity with the work, and the constant position of authority within the government executive agencies, which enable them to have detailed information and a special knowledge about all government departments and activities. The insiders, as mentioned earlier, are typically politicians that are the political executives who preside over a hierarchic system, at the top of the administrative pyramid, in which their office is a primary source of legitimate authority and the career administrators subordinate to them. The relationship between the two actors is described by Frederickson and Smith (2003) as complementary and overlapping rather than separated. Thus, the two actors are in a continuous and dynamic interaction with inter-changing roles in the process of converting demands into policies. The flow interaction between them fundamentally determines policy direction, and sometimes, it is difficult to identify who is the main player as they may play the same role in the same stage. This may be due to the overlapping connection between their function and influence on policy formulation and implementation. Harrop (1992) also argues that policy development takes place in different stages and arenas depending on the actors involved. For instance, politicians as policy makers may initiate a policy, but its formulation would be left to the administrators; as professional staff who have special knowledge and detailed advice on the work in their departments, while the politicians, at best, set general goals and priorities and leave the determination of the specific objectives and the review of policy options in the hands of the administrators.

In addition, the “top-down” perspective of policy implementation describes the roles that can be played by both the politicians and the administrators in developing a policy and assumes that, the politicians who are at the top usually convey their preferences, authorities, tendencies and directives to the administrators to be filtered and translated into definitions, procedures and precedents (Clarke, 1992; Hill and Hupe, 2003 and Sabatier, 2007). A flow of interactions between the two actors in the process of converting demands into policies is illustrated in Figure (2.6). Moreover, Nixon (1993) notes that policy formulation and implementation tend to reflect the career interests of professional and official staff who usually are well equipped to deal with technical issues on behalf of their ministers. This view tends to increase the degree of control of the administrators over the policy details as both formulators and implementers. Therefore, the administrators may seek to determine their influence on these processes by hiding policies in technical committees, and the politicians in this case, as Baier *et al.*, (1994) reports, may defuse politically contentious issues by placing them under judicial review, which usually is made by the administrators.

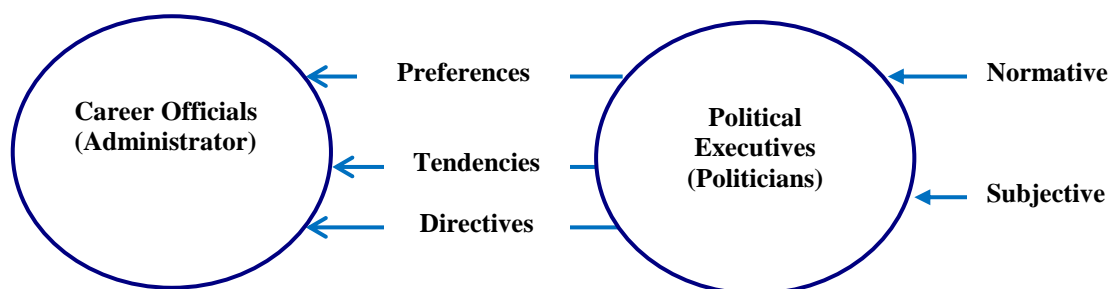


Figure 2.6: Top-Down Perspective of Policy Implementation

As has been discussed so far, policy is formulated and implemented within government organisations and only involved the insiders who are a part of the government. However, as Rourke (1984) and Meier and O’Toole (2006) suggest, there is a possibility for lateral entrance of outside policy experts who may, in particular occasions, take an advisory or consultative role in the agency’s policy deliberations. Those are called ‘the outsiders’ and

described by Meier and O'Toole (2006) as professional individual people, who have highly developed skills, and are specialised in certain policy areas, such as university scientists and other academics and researchers. The outsiders, as they argue, can participate in the process of policy development and deliberations not because they are sanctioned in law, but because they have direct institutionalised access to them. They commonly gain this entree by serving in an advisory or consultative capacity to these agencies. As they hold advisory positions, they would be at the centre of the most celebrated policy dispute, so they can participate in formulating a policy and assist in its implementation through an elaborate system of advisory machinery. In addition to this, the outsiders are more independent than the permanent official, so they can speak their minds without editing their thoughts for fear of reprisal by their administrative superiors in government. This independence of judgment may help to promote diversity of opinions and views. Therefore, the outsiders whether serving as advisers, consultants, or on temporary assignment with the agency, can be identified as superior players in these stages of the policy process. In addition, the outsiders who may become temporarily involved in the agency's operation can have far more influence over the direction of an agency's policies than any of its career employees. Thus, the power that resides in a bureaucratic organisation because of its specialised functions and capacities is not always controlled by people who are actually bureaucrats, in the true sense of being permanent employees of the agency for which they work. Such permanent employees often find themselves discounted and in the unhappy position of having no real voice in their own organisation's major policy decisions.

Thus, it can be concluded that policy formulation and implementation as it develops within the government executive agencies, is heavily influenced by pulling and hauling between professional, administrative and political points of views. Also, it involves the career officials

and other experts who are officially responsible for formulating and implementing selected policies. Those include the political executives, the career administrators who are described as the insiders, and policy experts and advisers who are described as the outsiders. The number of actors at these stages, therefore, is considerably lower than those at the initiation stage.

2.5.3 Actors at the Evaluation Stage

The evaluation is concerned with what happens during and after the implementation of a policy. It involves activities intended to determine ‘what is policy achievement’, whether it has achieved its objectives and made effects on society, and whether it has other consequences. It focuses, as Jann and Wegrich (2007) argue, on the intended results and unintended consequences of policies, and it is not restricted to a particular stage; instead it is applied to all stages of the policy process. Therefore, the assessment of a policy is started once a policy has been put in effect for enough time in order to detect the gap that may occur between the promulgated objectives and realised goals, and to learn about the consequences of a policy. This is based on information gathered from statistics and the opinions of the executive bodies and people who have worked on implementation. Thus, evaluation as a process of investigation is used to check if the policy has achieved its goals or not, explicit or implicit. It is concerned with the success or failure of a policy. In this sense, it should involve a collection of information about a particular policy or programme, appropriate methods for policy analysis and skilled people as evaluators. According to Gunn (1991) the type of information required at that time should be specified in advance, and options for evaluation must be made as one of the criteria for programme selection. The analytic methods should be also used to specify how the results obtained from the evaluation can be utilised in terms of feedback mechanisms. Through this mechanism, evaluation could lead to diverse patterns of

policy-learning, which may help governments to terminate their policies and develop new ones or refine and improve the existing policies. The idea of policy termination, as described by Jann and Wegrich (2007), is that a policy problem has been solved or the adopted policy measures have been recognised to be ineffective in dealing with the set policy goals. However, the literature on policy termination suggests that attempts of policy termination are neither widespread nor successful in overcoming resistance of influential actors, allowing for the growth of policy programmes. Some studies are also concerned with why policies and programmes continue even though they have outlived their usefulness (Geva-May 2004). Therefore, the declaration of new policies usually faces greater incentives than the termination of old ones that include the admission of failures.

Returning to the methods that should be administered in policy evaluation, Dye (2010) suggests certain methods including: first, preparation of annual reports by government officials and agencies to give testimony on the achievement of their own policies. In fact, these reports are usually not a very objective means to policy evaluation, because they frequently magnify the benefits of the policy and minimise its costs. Second, visits to the target situation or the schemes by top administrators, implementers and legislators or some combination of them, to conduct inspections in the field. These visits can provide impressionistic data about how the policy programmes and projects are being implemented. Third, the analysis of information provided by the government agencies themselves about policy achievements and measurements. The information is usually presented in statistics - that is in terms of numbers-accordance with the professional standards as a desirable level of output. It describes costs against benefits and rarely demonstrates the actual impact on society. Fourth, the consideration of people' criticisms on a particular policy or programme; the criticisms are generally expressed by mass media, interest groups and opposition parties,

or by a particular government body. Fifth, review the situation, in terms of relevant outcomes, before and after implementation. This method is called before and after comparison; it is used to demonstrate the real impacts of the implemented policy on target situation. Sixth, the experimental method; this method is used to examine the effect of a policy on target population. The examination is carried by selecting random samples of the target population in either the experimental group who receives the policy benefits, or a controlled group who doesn't receive the benefits. Finally, the cost-benefit analysis method which usually involves the comparison of all policy options in terms of their financial and social costs and benefits in quantitative form. In the real world of public policy, however, it is difficult to weigh costs against benefits, particularly in the case of social services as well as the costs of making specific changes in society. Also, data are often difficult to find because they may not exist, or they are too time-consuming to attain, or their owner may not reveal it for fear it will be used in a negative evaluation (Birkland, 2010).

Although, a variety of methods have been utilised in policy evaluation; they can be categorised into two types of policy evaluation, internal and external evaluation. The internal evaluation is commonly involved in government agencies, career and professional officials and operating staff, including selected committees and departments, senior administrators, policy experts and advisers, technocrats, and legislators. These people are career officials who are officially responsible for measuring the consequences/outcomes of the implemented policies. They mainly carry out site visits to field work and prepare periodical reports about the actual achievements ratios of the government. This type of evaluation is typically conducted by the public administration; therefore, is described by (Howlett and Ramesh 2003) as administrative evaluation. The external evaluation, on the other hand, predominantly involves people who are interested in policy analysis and evaluation, and have access to

information related to the policy or programme on assessment. These people, as Hogwood and Gunn (1991) argue, may have an ability to set guidelines and determine criteria for policy evaluation. They may also have a greater confidence, knowledge, ability and higher skills than the career officials to conduct scientific evaluation studies and present a high quality of evaluation. These people are, fundamentally, scientists, academic groups and institutions, researchers, professional organisations, policy advisors and policy analysts. Therefore, their role in policy evaluation, as academics and scientists, has recently increased. The scientific evaluation, as Howlett and Ramesh point out, has been distinguished from the administrative evaluation and the political evaluation, which is carried out by diverse actors in the political arena including the wider public and the media through the public debate and activities of respective opposition parties that embrace substantial elements of evaluation.

In sum, the policy process, as has been discussed, consists of a number of interrelated stages, which are typically initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation, to achieve policy objectives and make effects on society. Each of these stages involves certain activities and actors as illustrated in the conceptual framework developed by the researcher as can be seen in Figure 2.7. The framework can be utilised to demonstrate the main issues and areas that need to be considered in this study in the case of Libya and other countries. Yin (2009) also notes that conceptualising the phenomenon under consideration enables the researcher to demonstrate the main concepts of the study, how these are interrelated, and the boundaries within which the concepts and their interrelationships are applicable. The development of a conceptual framework therefore, will guide the researcher to determine what things to be measured and what relationships the study will look for. It is an assisted tool of how to make logical sense of the relationships among several factors and variables that have been

identified as important to the research problem (Sekaran, 2003). Therefore, it is essential to be established prior to data collection and the data analysis process.

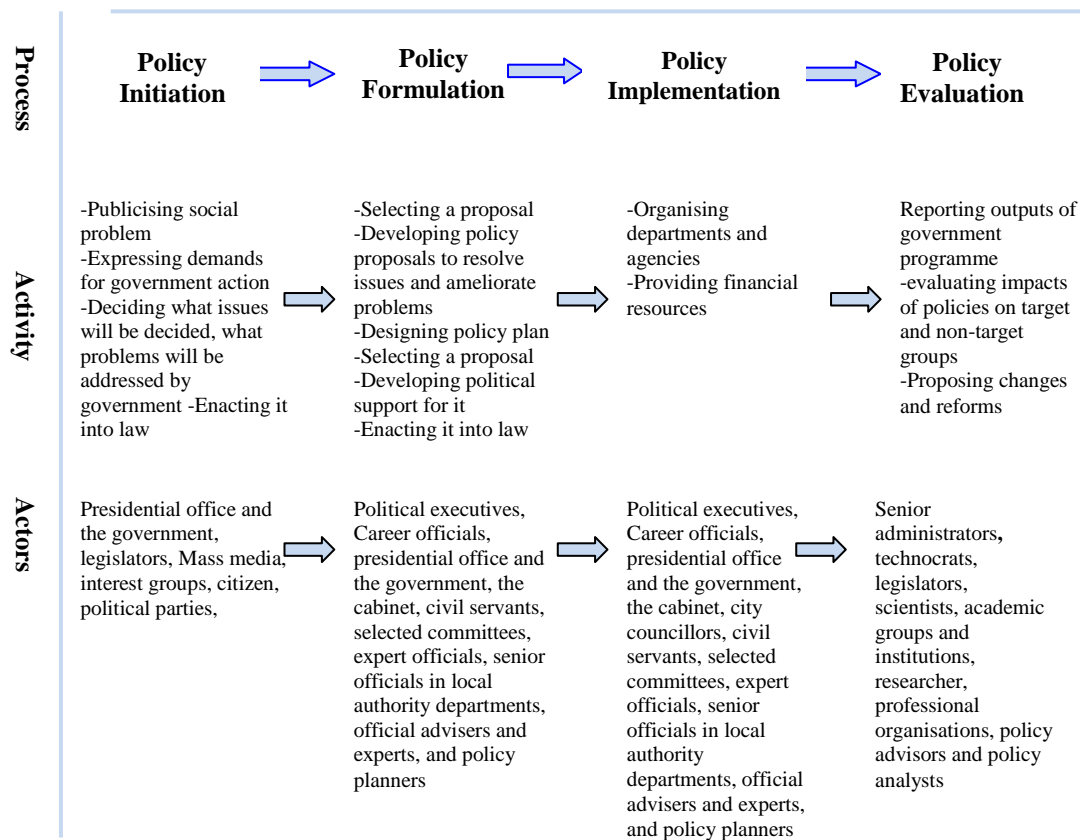


Figure 2.7: Developed Conceptual Framework: Policy Process: Activities and Actors

2.6 Conclusion

In summary, public policy has been defined and its boundaries have been determined in terms of its substance and scope. It was conceived to be much wider in scope and longer than decision, objectives, strategy, programme and project. It is categorised into various types of policy: distribution and redistribution; regulatory and self-regulatory; substantive and procedural; material and symbolic; collective and individual; behavioural and structural; liberal and conservative; and, tributary. Each category was examined to demonstrate its relation to the research under taken. Furthermore, public policy is seen as a course of action, a government activity and the outputs of the political process. But, these outputs are only the ends of government products, which require a long time, and cluster decisions in the sense of

related decisions concerning a particular issues and area. They require different kinds of decisions. For example, decision to make a decision; such decisions usually arise from the perception that there are problems to be solved and issues to be addressed. The outputs also require tortuous processes, therefore, the policy process moves on to a different set of decisions about what exactly should be done, how it should be done, and when it should be done.

But, the matter does not stop there. Even when the doing has been done and decisions have been put into effect, this leads to the emergence of other questions and other decisions that must be taken. These relate to whether policy outputs match policy intentions, and whether policy contents as well as the policy process can be improved in the future. Therefore, public policy should be considered from the point of its emergence to the point of its delivery. In fact, this is the task of the policy process, which is considered as a continuous government activity that has been developed over a long period of time and ranged from three to eight processes. They are typically divided into four main processes including initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation. Each of these processes is examined as a distinctive type of government activity in order to get a better understanding of how governments select and put policies into effect, take actions to implement them and allocate financial resources to bring these outputs into existence. The above cannot be achieved without the involvement of various actors, who are all identified in this chapter. This chapter has carried out an examination on the policy process, through review of available literature, aimed at the establishment of a conceptual framework by which the Libya case studies can be examined. Therefore, the next chapter will focus on the Libyan environment. It examines the political structures and government agencies through which selected policies are developed and implemented.

Chapter Three

Political Structures and Policy Process Frameworks in Libya

3.1 Introduction

The public policy process in Libya cannot be fully understood without understanding the political structures and government institutions through which policy issues and input demands are converted into policy outputs. The current political structures cannot be understood without understanding the geographical situation, demographic transition and historical background, which are crucial for seeing the phenomenon from its wider perspective. In order to gain this perspective, this chapter focuses on the Libyan political structures, and first describes the location and population. The chapter begins with a history of Libya prior to it declaring independence on 24th December 1951 allowing it to be ruled by its first national government. In addition, the political structures and policy process frameworks from the independence until the uprising in February 2011 are investigated in this chapter. The investigation is subdivided into three main parts. The first part covers the kingdom period 1951-1969, the second part covers the Republic period 1969-1977, and the final part covers the Jamahiriya system period from 1977- until February 2011, when the Libyan uprising began and left the situation of the country in a position of uncertainty regarding the political structures. The Jamahiriya system was formed by the establishment of People's Authority in 1977. The investigation is carried out collecting data from the Arab and western literature, and the Libyan official documents.

3.2 Location and Geographical Features

Libya is an African country that is centrally located in the Mediterranean portion of North Africa and occupies the strategic core of Arab Africa. In this position Libya links East with West Africa, as well as the middle and southern parts with European countries. Libya covers an area of 1,760,000 km² (1,100,000 sq mile), which makes it the fourth largest country in

Africa and the fifteenth among countries worldwide. Libya is seven times the size of the United Kingdom (Joffè, 2005). It has extensive borders with six other African countries, Egypt and the Sudan to the east, Chad and Niger to the south, Algeria and Tunisia to the west, and to the north, the country is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea with a long coastline of 1,900 Km about (1200 mile) as shown in Figure 3.1. Aridity is the most striking feature, resulting from the Saharan Plateau, which forms about 98% of the land, making it either desert or semi-desert and the arable land does not exceed 2% of the total land. This aridity is an obvious constraint to expansion of economic activities (Origination of Urban Planning, 2006).

The country's climate is affected by the Mediterranean Sea to the north and the Sahara to the south, which basically consists of four seasons. The coastal region is the most fruitful but is so narrow in some places that it does not exceed 50 kilometres; in other areas, however, it expands to a few hundred kilometres. The coastal strip is under the influence of the Mediterranean, while the rest of the country is under the influence of the Sahara. Therefore, the northern part of the country enjoys warm and sunny weather for most of the year. The temperature reaches the 20°C and 30°C during most months. In the winter, January is the coldest month. The mean monthly maximum and minimum temperatures range from 19°C to 8°C for coastal cities, and between 25°C and minus 1°C in the oases of the Sahara. The Libyan Desert is a part of the Great African Sahara. It has its own climate with hardly any rain and is warm throughout most of the year, and can get extremely hot during the period from May to September when temperatures can reach close to 50°C, (Attir and Al-azzabi, 2002).



Figure 3.1: Location and Physical Features of Libya

Source: [www.http://go.hrw.com/atlas/norm_hm/libya.htm](http://go.hrw.com/atlas/norm_hm/libya.htm)

3.3 The Population

The national censuses are the main sources of statistics for identifying the population characteristics of the country. Since the independence of the state, six regular official censuses have been undertaken every ten years. The first was in 1955 and the last was in 2005. However, other sources such the World Population Prospects (2012), and the Population Reference Bureau (2012) suggested that the estimated population in mid-2010 was about 6,041,000, with a growth rate of 0.8% during (2005-2010), as illustrated in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Population Growth Rate in Libya 1955-2010

Year	Total Population	Growth Rate %
1955	1,228,000	---
1965	1,712,000	3.3
1975	2,532,000	4.0
1985	3,739,000	3.9
1995	4,748,000	2.4
2005	5,594,000	1.7
2010	6,041,000	0.8

Source: Population Reference Bureau (2012);the World Population Prospects (2012)

Looking at the Table 3.1, annual population growth has greatly increased to a peak of 4.0% during the mid-1970s .This high growth rate is attributable to the increasing birth rate and the return of numerous Libyans who fled to neighbouring countries during the period of Italian control and during the Second World War. It is also due to the influx of foreign expatriates who came in greater numbers after the discovery and the development of oil industry. Major improvements in public health, the practice of modern medicine, and immunisation campaigns spread quickly particularly since the beginning of 1970s reduced mortality rates while birth rates remained high (Elkikhiya, 1995). This has reinforced the population growth rate and the age structure of the population (UN, 2000). Although since the mid-1980s the population growth rate has started to decrease to reach its lowest rate of 0.8% in the mid-2010 (the Population Reference Bureau, 2012). The new trends is most likely a result of changes in the way people live and work, increased levels of female education and labour force participation, delayed marriage for women - and consequently for men as well and the diminished need or desire for families to have a larger numbers of children (Mirkin, 2010). Despite, this decline in the annual growth rate, the annual population growth rate is still in average compared with those in the other Arab countries (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Population Average Growth Rates in Arab States 1955- 2010

Country	Population (Millions)		Average Growth Rate %	Country	Population (Millions)		Average Growth Rate %
	1955	2010			1955	2010	
Algeria	9.715	37.4	2.5	Oman	0.501	3.1	3.3
Bahrain	0.133	1.3	4.1	Palestinian	0.988	4.3	2.7
Djibouti	0.070	0.834	4.5	Qatar	0.037	1.75	7.0
Egypt	24.431	80.3	2.2	Saudi Arabia	3.626	27.3	3.7
Iraq	6.562	31.0	2.8	Somalia	2.522	10.1	2.5
Jordan	0.649	6.455	4.2	Sudan	10.275	33.5	2.1
Kuwait	0.195	2.9	4.9	Syria	3.922	21.6	3.1
Lebanon	1.532	4.4	1.9	Tunisia	3.488	10.7	2.0
Libya	1.228	6.5	3.0	UA Emirates	0.079	8.4	8.5
Mauritania	0.747	3.6	2.9	Yemen	4.89	22.8	2.8
Morocco	10.503	32.6	2.1				

Source: Population Reference Bureau (2012); The World Population Prospects(2012)

In addition, the reduction of mortality, as shown in Table 3.3, resulted in greater life expectancy, particularly for children under 14 years old, which amounted to an average of about 42% of the total population during the period 1955-2010, and leading to a rejuvenation of the population's age structure . Since the mid -1970s, fertility rates have fallen– from 7.4% in 1980 to 2.6% in 2010–causing a reduction in annual growth rate and the proportion of children under 14 years old, which has dropped from the peak of 46.5% in 1980 to 31% in 2010. This happened because parents realised that they can have fewer children to ensure the survival of the number they desire. However, the proportion of people aged between 15-59 and 25-59 have risen, passing from 48.9% in 1985 to 64.4% in 2010 and from 29.8% to 45% respectively. In contrast with more developed countries, which tend to have an older population, as shown in Table 3.4, these trends suggest that the age structure of the Libyan people is relatively young; it had in 2010 31.1% under age 15, 52.1% under age 25, 64.4% under age 59 and barely 4.5% aged 60 or over. In the more developed countries, 16.3 % of the 2010 population is aged 60 years or over, and in less developed countries 8.0%, while in Libya the percentage does not exceed 4.5% (Population Reference Bureau, (2012); the World Population Prospects (2012).

Table 3.3: The Libyan Population Structure Ages 1955-2010

Indicator	1955 -59	1960 -64	1965 -69	1970 -74	1975 -79	1980 -84	1985 -89	1990 -94	1995 -99	2000 -04	2005 -10
Pop (1000)	1349	1623	1994	2466	3063	3850	4364	4833	5346	5918	6423
Pop Growth Rate (%)	3.6	3.7	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.1
Age 0-14 (%)	43.2	43.4	45.1	46.5	46	45.5	43.3	37.9	33.1	31.3	31.0
Age 15-24 (%)	18.6	18.2	18.7	18.4	18.2	19.1	21.1	23	24.3	21.7	22.7
Age 25-59 (%)	32.2	33.0	31.7	31.4	31.1	29.8	31.5	34.4	38.2	41.0	41.8
Age 60+ (%)	6.0	5.4	5.2	4.7	3.1	3.8	4.1	4.7	4.4	4.9	4.5
Pop Density (per km ²)	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	4
Births(per year1000)	60	73	90	109	131	158	122	113	121	135	23
Deaths (per year 1000)	25	27	30	33	35	38	22	21	20	23	4
Crude Death Rate (per 1000)	19.9	18.3	16.8	14.8	12.7	10.9	5.3	4.5	4	4.1	4.1
Infant Mortality (1000 births)	170	150	125	105	68	50	38.1	30.7	23.8	20.9	14
Life Expectancy (years)	45.3	47.8	50.2	52.8	57.4	62.2	66.2	68.8	71.6	72.7	75
Fertility Rate	7.0	7.2	7.5	7.6	7.4	7.2	5.7	4.1	3.4	3.1	2.6
Urban Area %	22.7	27.4	45.3	60.9	69.3	76.2	80.0	83.0	85.2	87.0	87.0
Source: Population Reference Bureau (2012)											

Table 3.4: The Population of Libya Across Age Groups in compression with More and Less Developed countries 1950-2010

Indicator	Libya			More Developed Countries			Less Developed Countries		
Age Group	1955	1975	2010	1955	1975	2010	1955	1975	2010
0-14	43.1	46.5	31.0	27.4	24.2	26.0	37.7	41.1	29.5
15-24	18.6	18.4	22.7	17.0	16.8	17.9	18.8	19.2	20.8
25-59	32.3	31.3	41.8	43.9	43.5	39.8	37.1	33.5	41.7
60+	6.0	3.8	4.5	11.7	15.5	16.3	6.4	6.2	8.0
Source: The World Population Prospects (2012); Population Reference Bureau (2012)									

The age structure of a population usually affects the country's national socioeconomic situations, and can also be used to help predict potential selected policies. For example, countries with young populations (high percentage under age 15) need to invest more in schools, while countries with older populations (high percentage ages 65 and over) need to invest more in the health sector. Also, the rapid growth of younger people, leads to the need for additional jobs to be created to accommodate the new job seekers, and if they are unable to find employment, this may lead the country to unrest (the World Bank, 2012). With reference to Libya, the current age structure indicates that, the Libyan population is characterised by large numbers of young people, with children under age 15 accounting for a third of the population, and those in the main working ages are accounting for a about two thirds. This situation would appear to be advantageous and may help to provide an opportunity for speeding development in the country, but realising those benefits depends on the selected policies that promote productive investment, increase employment opportunities and in general, ensure a stable social and economic environment that is favourable for sustained economic growth and stainable developments in different policy areas. The young people, who have a high ratio of the total population, need to be educated and provided with gainful employment in order to become assets for societal development. This requires development and improvement of the selected policies. Accordingly, the Libyan government, since the establishment of the republic in 1969, has recognised the need to develop the provision of the public services in different policy areas (Vandewalle, 2006). Health care

services have been developed and available free for all citizens across the country. The most infectious diseases were extirpated, resulting in a cut of the number of infant mortality and a rise of people's life expectancy rates. The former has dropped from 125 per 1000 births in 1970 to 14 per 1000 in 2010, and the latter has risen from fifty years in 1970 to seventy five years in 2010. In addition, the crude death rate has declined from 15 per 1000 population in 1970s to 4 per 1000 in 2010 (see Table 3.3.). In addition, the ratio of one doctor to people was increased from one doctor per 3860 people in 1970, to one doctor per 526 people by 2010 (World Health Organisation, 2011). Education services have also improved and a health environment established. In this perspective, a compulsory free education was guaranteed for everyone and more than 90% of the adult population became literate by 2010 (UNESCO, 2012).

In comparison to the land area, the Libyan population is very small and one of the lowest population density rates in the world, the average is very low at 3.2 inhabitants per km² (General Authority for Information, 2006; United Nations, 2006). The population density varies from one part of the country to another; it is high along the coast, estimated at more than 50 people per km², whereas it falls to less than one person per km² in the interior. It is clear from Table 3.5, that there is a striking difference in the geographic distribution of the population among the country's regions and cities. This pattern of distribution can be attributed to the great aridity that dominates the country and that forces more than 90% of the population to be concentrated along the coastal area in general and particularly the north-eastern and north-western coasts. Density is divided into two district areas, the northern part, which is relatively densely populated with more than 85% of the population on 10% of the total land area, and the southern part, which is much less populated. Most of the population are urban and concentrate in the cities along the coastline and nearby intensively cultivated

agricultural zones of the coastal plains. They tend to concentrate around the major cities such as Tripoli, Benghazi, Misrata, El-Mergheb, El-Gebal EL-Gherbi, Zawia, EL-Nikaht EL-Khames, EL- Gebal EL-Akhder, Sirt, EL-Marj, Derna and EL-Batnan. As shown in Table 3.5 the urban concentrations of Tripoli, Benghazi and the neighbouring coastal cities dominate the country and contain about 80% of the total population, but they occupy about 10% of the land area. In these cities the population density is about 70 inhabitants per Km². That means more than two-thirds of the population lives in the Mediterranean coastal cities, with nearly half of those living in Tripoli itself, the capital of the state. This situation is as a result of the land area being largely dry desert except for some areas of oasis in the south. Thus, Libya's population is very small and characterised by a youthful and geographically highly concentrated population.

Table 3.5: The Population Density Rates in Libya

City	Total Population	% of Population	Total Area km ²	Person per km ²
Tripoli	1065405	18.78	1830	582.18
Benghazi	670797	11.82	92420	7.25
Misurata	550938	9.71	22480	24.5
EL-Jafara	453198	7.99	1940	149.14
EL-Mergheb	432202	7.61	8840	48.9
EL-Gebal EL-Gherbi	304159	5.36	137900	2.46
EL-Zawia	290993	5.17	2890	100.68
EL-Nikaht EL-Khames	287662	5.01	5250	54.79
SEBHA	212694	3.75	112490	8.26
EL-Gebal EL-Akhder	203156	3.58	7800	24.9
Sirt	193720	3.41	195070	0.99
EL-Marj	185848	3.27	22800	8.15
EL-Wahat	177047	3.12	108670	0.27
Derna	163351	2.87	19630	8.32
EL-Batnan	159536	2.81	83860	1.72
Nalut	93224	1.64	13300	6.53
Murzuk	78621	1.38	349790	0.2
Wadi EL-Haya	76858	1.35	31890	2.28
EL-Kufra	50104	0.88	483510	0.11
Ghat	23518	0.41	72700	0.31
Total	5673031	100	1775060	3.2
Source: National Corporation for Information and Documentation Statistic Book(2006)				

3.4 Historical Background of Libya

For most of its history, Libya has been subjected to a variety of foreign control. The

Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Turks, and most recently, Italians and a British-French administration, ruled all or parts of the country (Fisher, 1985). The Phoenicians arrived from the shores of Lebanon and built a few coastal trading centres, three of them on the western shores, which eventually became the major cities of Tripoli, Leptis Magna and Sabratha. The Greeks settled on the eastern shores, where they developed an elaborate system of irrigation and which helped to develop agriculture in the country, and managed to build five major cities, including Benghazi and Cerene. Most of these became thriving trade and cultural centres and their ruins still bear testament to their previous glory. In c.150 BC, the Romans came to Libya and ruled the country until their empire finally declined in the 5th century AD. From this time, Libya came under the rule of the Byzantines until the early of 7th century AD and later under the Ottoman Islamic Empire (St John, 2006).

Since then, Libya became part of the empire and formed its Arabic Islamic identity, because the majority of the Libyan people are Muslim, and there is not any ethnic minority in the Libyan society. The Libyan people voluntarily accepted the message of Islam that reflected on peoples' personal manner. By the values of Islam, the relationship among Libyan people was bonded and enforced by the common denominators of one religion, 'Islam' and one language, 'Arabic'. Consequently, Libya's social, political and economic frameworks have been fundamentally based on Islamic culture. Although, Libya was ruled by the Muslim leadership 'Khalifa' for a long time, it was interrupted several times. According to St John (2006), the first interruption was by Sicilians for twelve years from 1146-1158 AD, another interruption was for 20 years from 1510-1530 by the Spanish, and for 21 years from 1530-1551 by the Knights of St John from Malta who ruled the north-western shores for half a century during the 16th century. Since 1551, Libya has followed the Ottoman Empire and

was ruled by the Turkish government in Istanbul. In the early years of the 20th century due to the weakness of the Turkish government whose late days was characterised by anarchy and revolts, its hold on Libya could not be maintained and the Italian government started seriously considering its colonial plan in Libya (Simons, 1996).

In October 1911, Italians supplanted the Ottoman Turks and intended to stay for a long time. The Italian invasion completely changed life and the course of development in Libya. The country under the Italian occupation was administrated in line with Italian interests and most of the territories were embroiled in a lengthy war. During the Italian occupation, the Libyan people had suffered massively and any kind of the development and progress in the state had also been stopped including education, health, and housing facilities (Ahmida, 1994). In addition, the Italian administration did not provide school facilities for everyone and did not allow Libyans to go beyond elementary education. Education and health facilities were only provided for a small proportion of people to serve its own purposes and to create an elite group who would be able to identify themselves with the Italians' interests. This situation, as Attir & Al-Azzabi (2002) note, was immense and affected several following generation.

By the advent of World War II, Libya was a battlefield of the Axis and Allied powers. As a result, Libyan people participated in this war and helped the Allies at the Battle of El-Alamein, when the Axis powers, Germany and Italy were defeated on 23rd October 1941. Italy was completely defeated by the British and French in late 1942. Accordingly, British and French armed forces, as Khadduri (1968) points out, acknowledged this participation and, rewarded the Libyan people by giving them the eastern part of Libya, 'Cyrenaica', which came under the rule of the Idriss Senussi who was appointed a King of Libya after the independence of the state. Therefore, by the end of 1943, Libya came under joint British and

French military administration. The British ruled over the northern and eastern parts of the country, 'Tripolitania' and 'Cyrenaica', while the French ruled Fezzan, which lasted until 1949, and then passed to the UN administration (Simons, 1996). In that year on 21st November, independence of Libya was proclaimed by the United Nations resolution. It became sovereign state comprising three provinces Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Fezzan.

During the colonialism periods, Libya remained a poor country with a mostly illiterate population who lived a life of bare subsistence. It also remained without any types of physical and social infrastructures until the second half of the century when the country officially implemented its independence on 24th December 1951. Accordingly, the Kingdom of Libya was established as a modern state under the King Idris Senussi. This was the first time for the country to be ruled by a local government -appointed by the British government influence- and to end a long period of foreign domination (Adrain, 1970). Since the independence, as Fisher (1985) argues, there was little hope for a viable future due to a small population, which was poor and illiterate, and a lack of a resource base with an economy based on subsistence farming supplemented by foreign aid. Therefore, the Libyan government had started to consider developing its public policy; it had taken some steps on the modernisation of schools, hospitals roads and municipal facilities. But, its activity was very limited, and largely depended on foreign aid to finance its policies, particularly from the USA and the UK as a rent for using their military bases in Libya. This situation continued until the development of the oil industry and exportation starting in 1961, which has been a turning point in the history of Libya, and assisted to transform the geographical and social profile of the country (Fisher, 1985). Since then, oil revenues have become the main resource of the government to finance its public policies. Thus government activities in different policy areas were dramatically extended as a result of the increase in oil revenues. A number of

comprehensive development plans have been developed and implemented in order to reduce inequality between different parts of the country (Allan, 1981; Buru *et al.*, 1985). The first five years development plan 1963-1968 was launched in August 1963, and respectively followed by three other (1973-75, 1976-80, and 1981-85).

In addition, the Libyan institutional structures have been developed, and consequently the formal institutions, which were established since the growth of oil industry had to be reformed. The Libyan Public Development and Stabilisation Agency (LPDSA) and the Libyan Finance Corporation (LFC), which were set up respectively on 6th March and on 9th June, 1952 were among the reformed institutions. By the establishment of the Development Council (DC) in 1960, the assets of the former agencies were transferred to it. The council was chaired by the Under-Secretary of the Finance Ministry and had four representatives (one from the federal government and one from each of the three provinces). The DC was specifically empowered to review the economic and social projects, which were designed to develop the potential of the country, boost the standard of living, utilise natural resources, and increase natural production, as well as to prepare development plans (Farley, 1971). In April 1963, the federal form of government was abolished, and replaced by a unitary, monarchical state with a dominant central government. The historical divisions of the three provinces Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Fezzan were eliminated and the country divided into ten new provinces, each headed by an appointed governor. The legislature revised the constitution in 1963 to reflect the change from a federal to a unitary state (Khadduri, 1968). In addition, under the law 5/1963, the DC was superseded and replaced by the National Planning Council (NPC). The council was chaired by the Prime Minister (PM) and executed by ministers of planning, economy, housing, finance, petroleum affairs, agriculture and the chairman of the Technical Planning Institution. Under this law, the development work was

divided between the NPC and the Ministry of Planning and Development; with the council deciding upon matters of policy relating to planning and development, and the Ministry acting as the administrative and executive agency for planning and development affairs. Thus, it was the council's duty to prepare and submit to the Council of Ministries (CMs) a complete long-term plan for approval by the CMs and the parliament (Code of Legislations, 1963; Allan, 1981).

In the early years of the September Revolution 1969, the Highest Planning Council (HPC) was established in 1970 to replace the DC and the NPC. It was set up to be the only institute concerned with policy design and preparation (Code of Legislations, 1970). The SPC was later replaced by the Ministry of Planning (MP). In 1998 and under the law 2/1998, this body was re-established and recognised as the General Planning Council (GPCouncil) (Code of Legislations, 1999). In fact, this body was effectively involved in whole stages of the policy process; therefore, its role will be discussed in greater detail, in Chapter 6.

3.5 The Political Structures and Policy Process Frameworks 1952-1969

Following the establishment of the Kingdom of Libya, a formal constitution was approved to determine the context of the political structure and the exercise of the political power in Libya during this period. The constitution of 1952 granted the King a broad power as the Supreme Head of the State. It stated that the political power in the country would be practiced through the legislative, the executive and the judicial powers (Khadduri, 1968). The utility of these powers is usually to make laws and policies and considering how they can be implemented and enforced. Each power should ideally be practiced by different bodies and persons to ensure that, there is no domination from any single person or body over another (Roberts, 1986). Constitutionally, the legislative power was exercised by the King in conjunction with Parliament. It was largely concentrated in the hand of the King and

nominally shared with a national assembly that consisted of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The former, like other federal systems, represented the three provinces of the state. It consisted of twenty-four members; each province being equally represented by eight members. Half of the senators were appointed by the King and the rest elected by the legislative assemblies of the provinces, and the term of membership was eight years. The House of Representatives was an elected representative body of the whole people on the basis of one deputy for every 20,000 inhabitants. Candidates were entirely elected from the three provinces in accordance with the provisions of federal electoral law (Khadduri, 1968).

The executive body principally consisted of the PM and members of the cabinet, the Provincial Governors (PGs) and the Chiefs of the Provinces Executive Councils (CPECs). At the head of the executive body were the PM and the cabinet who were responsible for the consideration and implementation of the state's public policy. Their task was to consider how decided policies could be implemented at the national, provincial and local levels. They also prepared development plans and suggested policy issues in different policy areas and submitted them to the parliament for examination and approval. Thus, they were directly involved in the policy process, particular policy formulation and implementation as well as on some occasions, in policy initiation. However, they were appointed by the King and were collectively responsible to the assembly for their activity and performance, as well as each one being individually responsible for its own ministry and policy area. The PGs and the CPECs were also appointed by the King and directly responsible to him for their work. With each governor, 'Wali' who represented the King in the province, and the CPECs serve under its supervision. The judicial power, on the other hand, would be exercised by the Supreme Court and other courts. It was determined by federal law in accordance with the provisions of the state. Its task was to administer the laws, and punish those held responsible for breaking

these laws. In addition to these three powers that were explicitly stated in the constitution, the Royal Diwan (RD) also had unconstitutionally shared powers with the King in ruling the state. It was headed by traditional tribal and religious leaders who tended to filter any information before presenting it to the King. Thus, the RD gained tremendous power in running state affairs and contributed greatly to the instability of the political system. It had driven many things that the King did not care to run or never heard about (Khadduri, 1968). In fact, the RD played both a direct and an indirect role in the policy process; therefore, it is included to the components of the political structure in this period. The relationship between these components or bodies is illustrated in Figure 3.2.

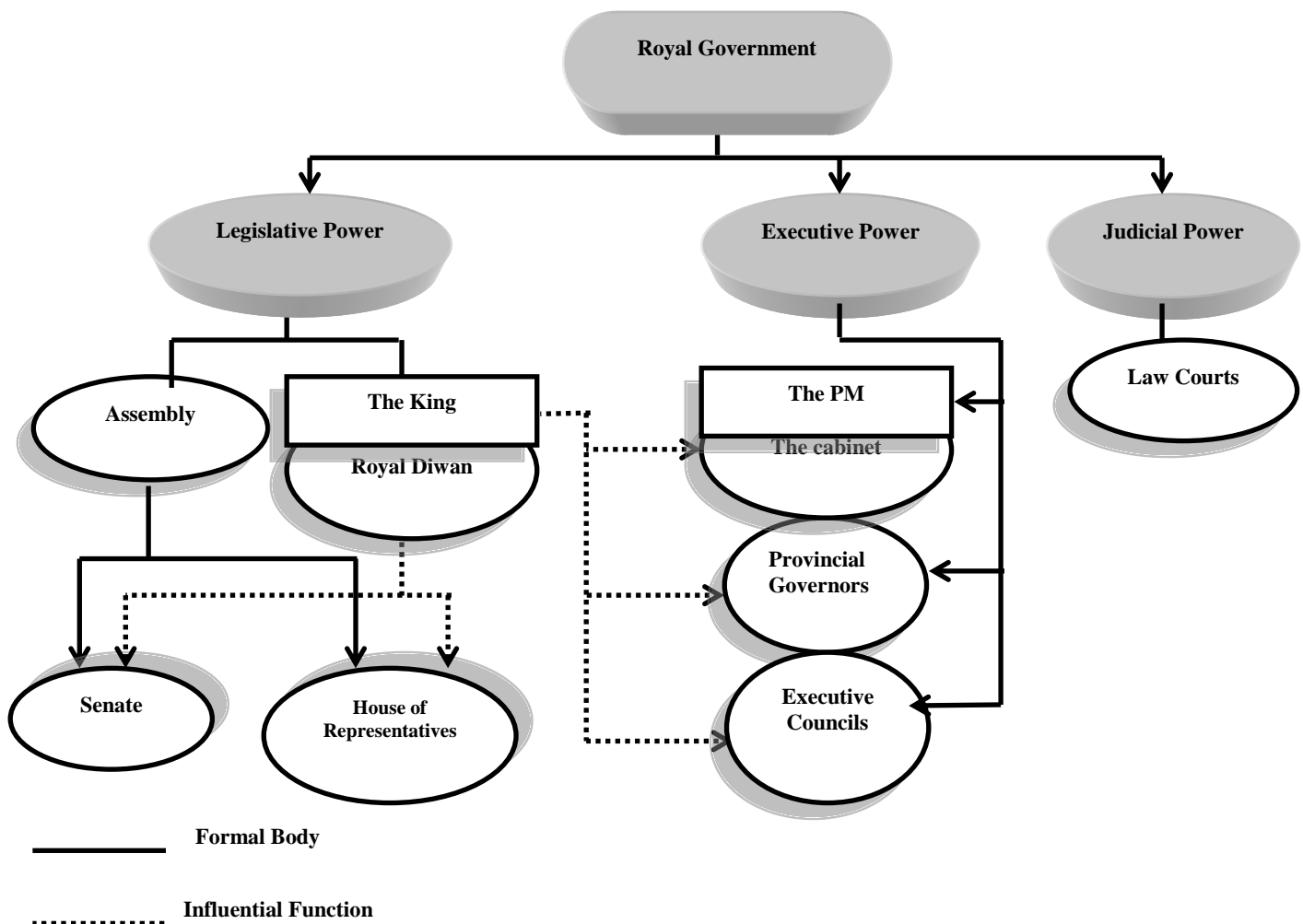


Figure 3.2: The Political Structure 1952-1969
 Source: Prepared by the Researcher

As shown in Figure 3.3, the political structure consisted of the King and the RD, the Assembly, the Cabinet, the PGs, and the CPECs. Although the authority of each body was constitutionally defined, it was, in practice, nominal and very limited, and the roles of individuals in these positions seem to be restricted. All bodies in the structure were perceived to have independent authority, but in fact they operated under the direct control and influence of the King, (in the diagram linked by dotted lines). Organisationally, any bills and policy issues were to be suggested and discussed by the members of the assembly as a formal body of the legislative authority (as linked by straight lines) or by the government. In reality, they referred to the King and passed under his influence. He had broad constitutional powers, so he could issue any decrees at any time, particularly when the assembly was not in session. As the head of the state, the King was inviolable and exempt from any questions and judgments.

The King also influenced the Executive Authority (as linked by straight lines), through his influence on the activity of the PM, the Cabinet, the PGs and the CPECs. These people were formal bodies of the executive authority and their task principally was to formulate and implement policies. He personally selected these people and he could dismiss them at any time. Thus, the King had influence on policy initiation, formulation and implementation, and any political activity, whether related to the Assembly or the cabinet. On many occasions and situations, he influenced the Assembly through the control of the elections and the appointment of the senators. He also influenced the cabinet through the appointment of the PM and the ministers, and did not hesitate to dismiss the government when he decided. During the period of kingdom 1952-1969, eleven cabinets were formed (averaging eighteen months per cabinet), with thirty-two reshuffles (averaging six months each) and a total of 101 cabinet members in office. The ministers rarely had time to familiarise themselves with the issues of their posts, or to develop future plans, strategy and policy for their departments.

They always were under the threat of being dismissed or switched. However, the great majority of them were chosen not for their qualification and skills, or for political ideology and experience, but for the family, tribal and religious influences they represented. As a result, the political and administrative scene in the country got worse and the last days of the monarchical regime were marked by corruption, nepotism, maladministration and fiscal dishonesty. These situations, and others, led to the change of the political system in September 1969, in a revolution led by members of military officers called the Free Officers (El-fathali *et al.* 1977).

3.6 The Political Structures and Policy Process Frameworks 1969- 2011

Since the revolution in 1969, the revolutionary government had experienced certain political and administrative transitions lasting for a decade. It is significant for the country, because the Libyan government sought to dissolve all pre-existing forms of political and administrative structures, and replace them with organisations conforming to a fresh approach. As Simons (1996) notes, these transformations involved the development of attitudes and progressively extended people's participation in the policy process, particularly since 1977 when the political structure has essentially changed with the establishment of the people's authority. The Libyan literature describes the political and administrative transformations that have taken place within the political structure in different periods. In each period, different political and administrative structures were established and a particular framework of the policy process was formed. As described in Table 3.6, during the period 1969-71, the Revolution Command Council (RCC) was formed and placed itself at the top of the political structure. In the period 1971-73, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) was created as a fresh national political organisation. In addition, the period 1973-1975 witnessed the announcement of the People and Culture Revolution that led to the establishment of the

People's Committees (PCs). During the period of 1975-1977, the ASU was modified leading to the creation of the Basic People's Congresses (BPCs). Finally, the period 1977-2011 is the establishment of the Jamahiriya System.

Table 3.6: Political and Administrative Structures in Libya 1969-2011

Stage	State	Period
First	The Formation of the Revolution Command Council (RCC)	1969-1971
Second	The Creation of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU)	1971-1973
Third	The Announcement of the People and Culture Revolution	1973-1975
Fourth	The New Structure of the Arab Socialist Union	1975-1977
Fifth	The Jamahiriya System	1977-2011

3.6.1 The Formation of the Revolution Command Council 1969-1971

In September 1969, Libya was transformed from a constitutional monarchy to a revolutionary republic, which led to essential changes in the political structure. The revolution was realised by members of the young military leadership called the Free Officers, who were mostly from the lower strata of society. The Free Officers formed themselves into the RCC and Qaddafi, the first founder and initiator of the revolution became the head of the RCC, because, he played a major role in organising the civilian and military groups who instigated the revolution (Bludy and Lycett, 1988). As the main organiser and planner for the revolution, he became the head of state. Since then, he has been largely involved in the whole political affairs of the state including the policy process. His influence on the policy process through the whole period of the study will be discussed through this chapter. Since the republic was set up in Libya and headed by the RCC, the latter constituted the revolutionary government and issued the Provisional Constitutional Proclamation (PCP) in 11th December 1969 (Code of Legislations, 1969). In this constitution, the fundamentals of the political structures and the practice of the political power were defined.

Constitutionally, the RCC was recognised as the highest authority in the state and granted a wide power to issue laws and any decisions deemed to be necessary for making policies.

Therefore, the RCC had the right to supervise the executive power by appointing and dismissing the PM and the cabinet who were collectively responsible to the RCC (articles 18-24). The PCP also stated that the powers of the former King and Assembly should be regarded as references to the RCC, and the Kingdom had been regarded as a reference to the Republic (Code of Legislations, 1969). Consequently, the RCC became the supreme authority in the state, and had large legislative and executive authorities. It was a principal body by which bills and policy issues in different policy areas could be initiated and considered until enough consensus was reached to establish a unified position. It was mainly concerned with policy initiation and directly supervised the bodies involved in policy formulation and implementation. Thus, Qaddafi as the chairman of the RCC was a key figure in the revolutionary government and the RCC members generally referred to him as a primary leader of the revolution. In addition, the PM and the cabinet, as stated in the PCP, were appointed by the RCC to be in charge with policy formulation and implementation. They engaged in preparing the development plans, but this might be done in accordance with terms and conditions outlined by the RCC. On many occasions, they suggested some bills and policy issues to be considered by the RCC and included in the policy agenda; therefore they also played a vital role in the policy process. Although, they were effectively involved in policy formulation and implementation as well policy initiation, their activity was influenced by the RCC.

Despite the RCC having broad authority in policy initiation and formulation, it faced some unexpected difficulties in imposing its force on the government, particularly in policy formulation. As Simons (1996) notes, the threat mainly came from the civilian members of the first cabinet which was formed after the revolution. This situation led the RCC to take over the government and the chairman of the RCC became the PM in January 1970. The

government was formed by most members of the RCC. As a result of the broad authority of the RCC in policy initiation, formulation and implementation, it became the key actor in whole processes. To perform its task, the Highest Planning Council (HPC) was established as a national planning body. The HPC was later replaced by the Ministry of Planning (MP). Its function was to consider the national economic resources, suggest policies including policy objectives, programmes and priorities, and prepare development plans (Code of Legislations, 1970). To realise these intentions, Planning Divisions (PDs) were established in each ministry. Each one was concerned with policy preparation in its own area and directly operates under the supervision of the ministry. The PDs worked in cooperation with the HPC to prepare the development plans. In this case they functioned under the supervision of the cabinet, while the HPC was monitored by the RCC as well as being under the supervision of the cabinet. The HPC serves as a consultative apparatus to the RCC for policy planning and preparation, particularly during the early years of the revolution. It operated jointly with the RCC to define the policy objectives and priorities. It coordinated works with all ministries to prepare the development plans that contained the state's public policies. Thus, it played a significant role in the policy process, and so is included in the policy process framework of this period.

3.6.1.1 Policy Process Framework 1969-1971

As shown in Figure 3.3., the policy process framework in this period comprises five principal parties. These parties are:

- a) The Chairman of the RCC (CRCC),
- b) The Revolution Command Council (RCC),
- c) The Prime Minister (PM),
- d) The Cabinet, and
- e) The Highest Planning Council (HPC)

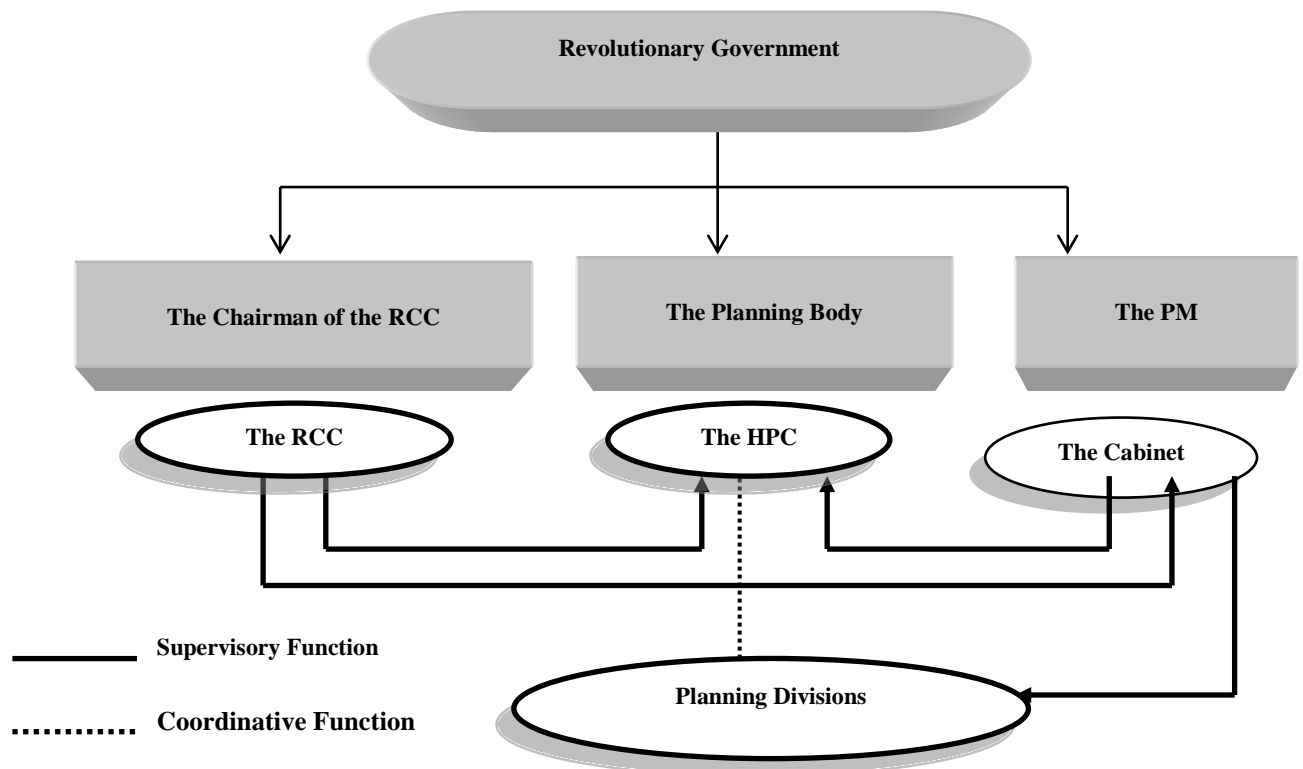


Figure 3.3: Policy Process Framework 1969-1971
 Source: Prepared By the Researcher

The policy process framework during the initial period of the revolution consisted of the formal bodies displayed in Figure 3.4. Qaddafi, as the CRCC, was a key figure in this framework, followed in order by the RCC and the cabinet. The RCC had direct supervision on the function of the cabinet (as linked by straight lines) that was principally responsible for policy formulation and implementation. The HPC operated under the direct supervision of the RCC and the cabinet (also linked by straight lines). It coordinated works with the PDs (as linked by the dotted line) and under the direct supervision of the cabinet. The PDs operated under the direct control of the cabinet, because each division was a formal body of the particular ministry.

Therefore the RCC and the HPC, as independent bodies, played a major role in the policy process, particularly policy initiation and formulation, while the cabinet was involved in policy formulation and implementation. Following the broad authorities of the RCC, the

chairman of the RCC became the Prime Minister in January 1970 and the government was formed by most members of the RCC. By mid-1972, as Davis (1988) notes, the chairman of the RCC increasingly left routine administrative tasks to another RCC member who became the PM. However, the most interesting and innovative action of the RCC in this period was the restructuring of the local governor boundaries, which were based on tribal and sub-tribal considerations. These boundaries were replaced by new political and administrative structures. The new structure consisted of ten Muhafadha (counties). Each one was divided into number of Municipalities. Heads of these units were recommended by the Interior Minister and appointed by the RCC to administrate local authorities (Code of Legislations, 1972). However, the Ministry of Municipalities was established and headed by the Interior Minister and the PM who supervised the whole structure. Hence, certain authorities were given to the heads of the new units to consider their own policy plans and the financial allocations of each political unit were also determined. Therefore, they were engaged in the policy process through their participation in implementing the public policy of the central government. The new structure was adopted to extend the activity of the local government. Therefore, political units in Libya were set up, starting with the creation of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) in 1971.

3.6.2 The Creation of the Arab Socialist Union 1971-1973

On 11th June 1971, an official statement was issued to create a national political organisation named the Arab Socialist Union (ASU). It was established in accordance with the modified national political and administrative structures. It was conceived as an effective organisation which formally represented all people in society and enabled them to participate in the policy process. Organizationally, the branches of the ASU were established in every village, town, school, factory, and at the different levels of the political and administrative structures. As El-

Fathali *et al.* (1977) point out, leaders of the branch would serve as agents who explain the RCC's policy to the masses and assist them in assuming their true role in the policy process. Simultaneously, they would serve as a means of expressing mass demands as well as providing the RCC with feedbacks relating to these demands. In terms of participation, the ASU just provided people with an opportunity to select members of the National General Congress (NGC), which was equivalent to the national assembly (The General Secretariat of the Arab Socialist Union, 1972). Thus, people in this organisation just participated in discussing bills, policy issues, reports and directives of the RCC; this was done according to their positions in the political units as determined in the structure of the ASU.

The structure consists of three principal units; a) at the local level is the basic unit called Mahalah "ward", b) at the municipal level is the unit called Muhafadha "City Council", and c) at the national level is the NGC, as shown in Figure 3.4. The units at the local level provided masses with a Basic Congresses (BCs) "Local Elections Wards" and Basic Executive Committees (BECs) "Local Councillors". The BCs were the highest authority of the ASU at the local level. They consisted of all the local members of the ASU, which met once every four months. Each BEC consisted of ten members elected by the members of the BC. It administered all local political and economic activity, and met at least once a month to discuss local matters and affairs. It functioned under the supervision of the Muhafadha Executive Committee (MEC) "City Councillor"; therefore, it was responsible for implementing public policies at the local level decided by the NGC and the RCC. It also would elect two or more members to serve on the Muhafadha Conference (MC) (The General Secretariat of the ASU, 1972; Bearman, 1986 and Gannous *et al.*, 1999).

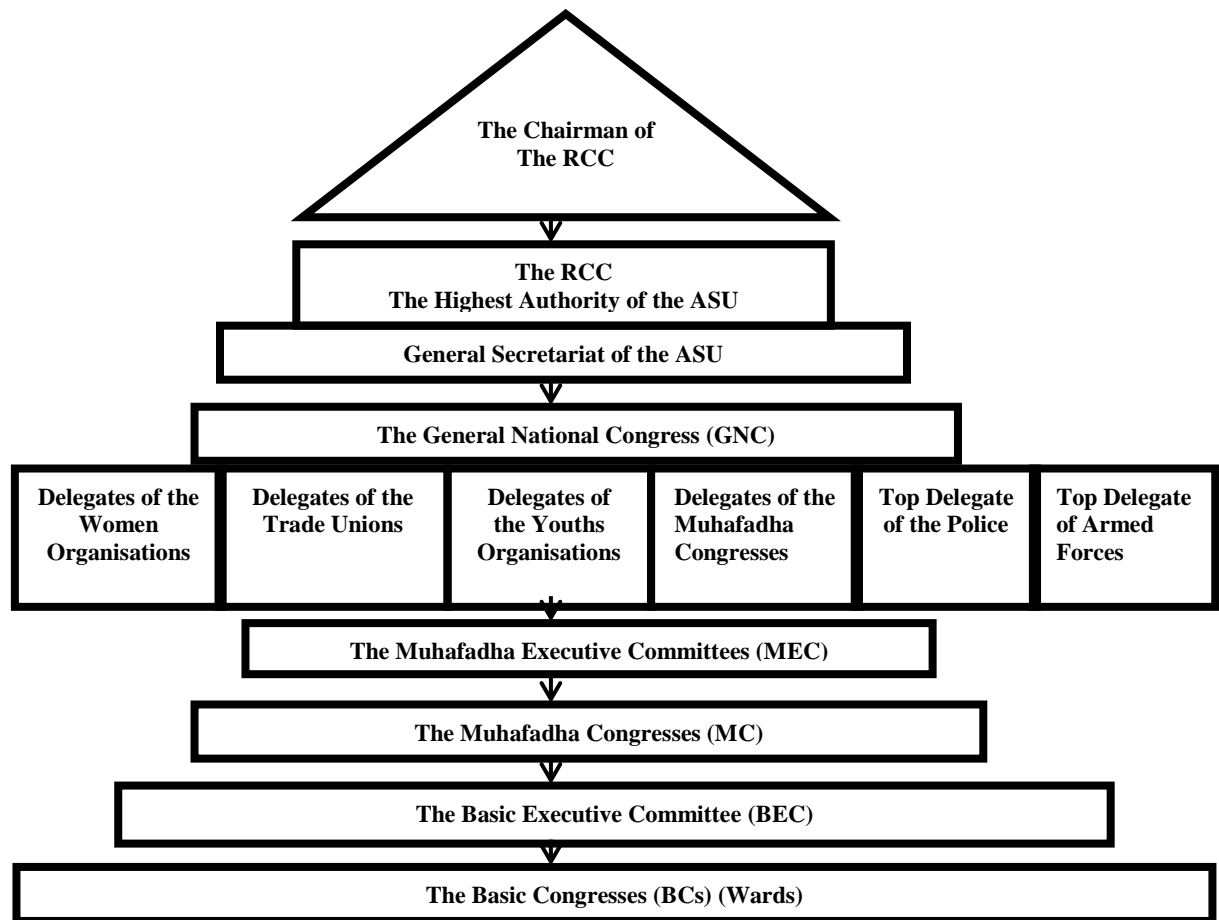


Figure 3.4: The Structure of the ASU

Source: (The General Secretariat of the ASU, 1972; Gannous *et al.*, 1999)

The MC is the highest authority at the muhafadha level. It consisted of two representatives from each BC located within the boundaries of the Muhafadha. The MC elected an executive committee called the MEC to serve at the muhafadha level for four years. This committee comprised twenty members chosen by the members of the MC. It generally directed all political activities of the ASU at the muhafadha level as well as supervising the work of the BCs and the BECs. It also implemented decisions, directives and recommendations of the NGC and the RCC. At the national level, the NGC was the highest authority of the ASU and its executive committee was the RCC. It was the legislative body in the country; hence it contained a large number of people including representatives from different groups and organisations. It consisted of ten to twenty members elected from each the MC, representatives of the youth and women organisations, and trade unions (The General

Secretariat of the ASU, 1972). In this structure, the chairman of the RCC held the position of the president of the NGC and the ASU. Thus, the congress was the supreme authority in the state and served as a national assembly. It essentially considered public policy of the state through the discussion of bills and other policy issues presented by the RCC.

Consequently, the structure of ASU was organised as a pyramid structure in which decisions were communicated downwards. At the top is the RCC who holds the political power, supervising and monitoring the whole units of the ASU with the assistance of a general secretariat. All resolutions and recommendations passed by the ASU units required the RCC's approval for implementation. Below this level in order of authority was the NGC which served as a national assembly where the most policy issues were considered and finally approved. Below this level there were the Muhafadha congresses and committees. The role of these was to collect recommendations and decisions made by the NGC and the RCC, and then implement them. At the bottom there were the Basic Congresses and Committees. Therefore, the structure of the political authority and its operation can only be seen through the function of the ASU. The latter became the only national political organisation by which any political activities in the state would be practiced. It is seen to be a legislative body with the passage of bills and policy issues that principally emerged from the RCC and discussed by the NGC. The ASU is a principal body concerned with public policy process. Therefore, it is included in the policy process framework in this period.

3.6.2.1 Policy Process Framework 1971-1973

Although, the ASU was the most important arena of all political activities, including the policy process during the period 1971-1973, the existing bodies mentioned earlier still played

the same role in the policy process. As a result, the policy process framework in this period, as shown in Figure 3.5, includes the following bodies:

- a) The Chairman of the RCC,
- b) The Revolution Command Council (RCC),
- c) The Prime Minister (PM),
- d) The Cabinet,
- e) The Highest Planning Council (HPC) and
- f) The Arab Socialist Union (ASU).

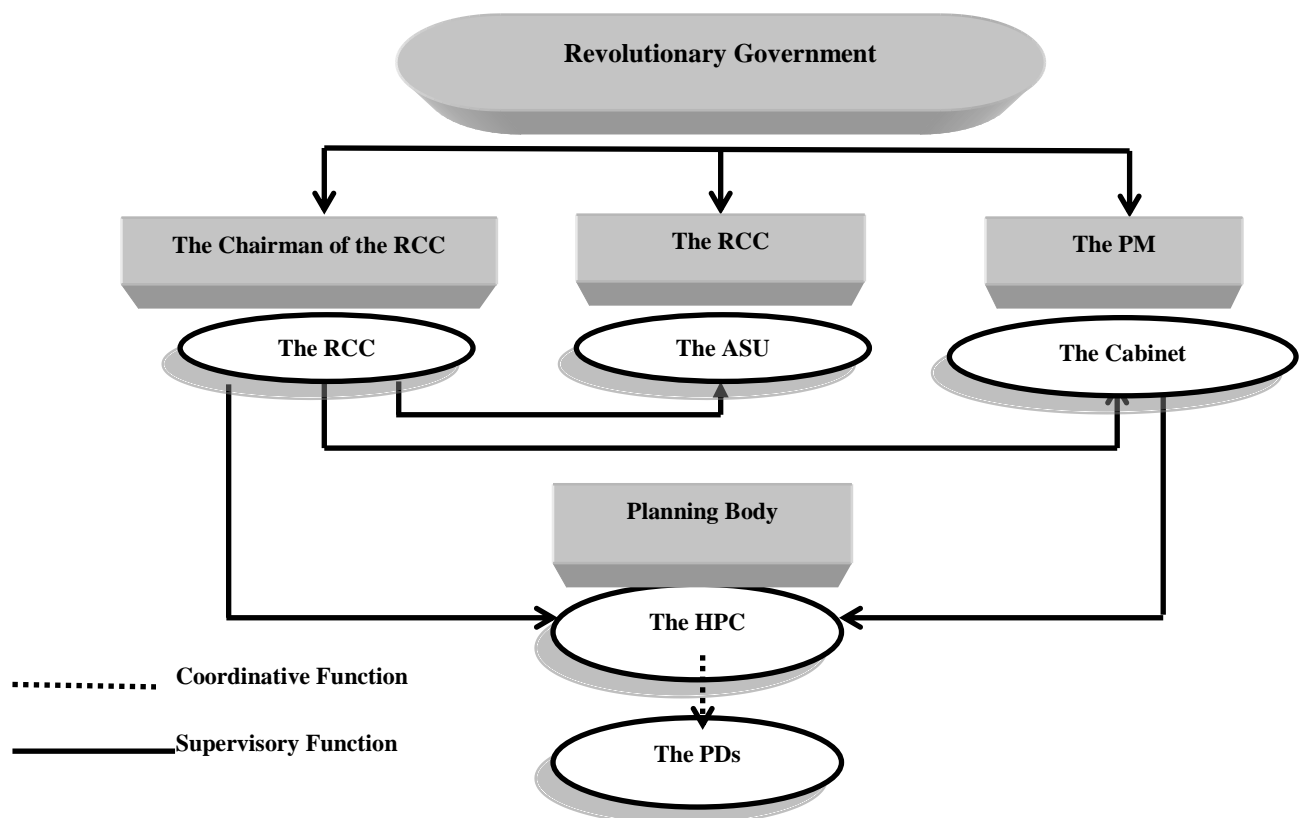


Figure 3.5: Policy Process Framework 1971-1973
 Source: Prepared by the Researcher

All bodies in this framework work together, to produce the state's public policy. Although, each body engages in a particular process, the RCC still has an influential role and all bodies operate under its influence and supervision (as linked by straight line). The ASU as an additional body also functions under the influence of the RCC. This may be as a result of the RCC's broad authorities which are granted by the Provisional Constitutional Proclamation.

Thus, all government activities were supervised by the RCC. By the end of 1973, as Deeb and Deeb comment, the ASU as a means for political practices, failed to be an effective political organisation representing all people and enabling them to participate in the policy process. Therefore, the Popular Revolution was proclaimed.

3.6.3 The Announcement of the Popular Revolution 1973-1975

As a consequence of the unsatisfactory state of the ASU, the Popular Revolution was proclaimed on 15th April 1973. The purposes of this action, as El-Fathali *et al.* (1995) point out, was mainly to reshape the political and administrative structures and create the People Committees (PCs) in all public institutions at the local and municipal levels. The initial step of this action was to replace the existing administrators and administrative system by the new ones run by the PCs. Accordingly, the people committees were accountable, constituted through elections, to take over the local and municipal authorities. Thus all government agencies at the local and municipal levels were run by the PCs. As Simons (1996) notes, since 1973, the PCs have been institutionalised within the national government structure to provide people with an opportunity to take part in implementing those policy programmes and projects which were felt to provide for the greatest needs of society in their particular units and organisations. They also made people responsible for their own policy affairs and to be directly involved in the policy process. More specifically, the PCs seemed to be an experiment in people's self-administration. Through the function of the PCs, elected committees were engaged in policy implementation and their structure, duties and responsibilities being determined by the law No.78/1973 (Code of Legislation, 1973).

In terms of structure, in each political and administrative unit a People Committee was elected from the residents of the community or from the staff of each government institution

and company. At the same time, for each basic unit of the ASU a preparatory committee was selected to be in charge with the task of organising and supervising the elections of these committees. Once the PC was accepted and constituted at the local level, it would be served as a Local People Committee (LPC) and its term was set for three years. The PCs are independent of the ASU but there is a direct link between the two institutions in the sense that the chief of the ASU at the basic unit supervises the selection of the PCs at the local level and the candidates would presumably favour the ASU members. Once the LPC was set up, two members among them would be selected to serve on the Municipal People Committee (MPC) (Bearman, 1986). Accordingly, the PCs had organisationally become formal bodies in the political structure and largely constituted in all government agencies. They administered all local authority by considering how the national resources could be used in developing their units. LPCs would have absolute authority for administering the political and economic affairs of the local units or wards, subject to the supervision of the MPCs. The latter were organisationally independent bodies and operating as city councils in the U.K. They were responsible for supervising all government activities and policy implementation in the units under their authority.

In practice, as El-Fathali *et al* (1995) comment, the PCs played a marginal role in the policy process and had experienced many defects. They experienced a low level of participation and the persistent shortages of skilled administrators. Their activities were also determined by the ASU members who played the role of gatekeeper by serving as a source of information related to the desirability of the elected individuals. Although the task of the ASU was only to supervise the selection and nominate the people committee members, a conflict between the two institutions soon emerged. This was due to their roles not being clearly delineated and both claimed the total local authority supervision. Each one claimed that it would have

authority to allocate the budget unit, and both justified their claims. As a result, jurisdictional conflicts appeared among the committees of the ASU and the PCs. This situation, as will be seen later, led to restructuring the ASU. Although, the PCs were created to take over local government services and operate independently, their direction and parameters were set and monitored by the central government, namely the cabinet. As a result of their creation and official duties in running all government agencies, they became part of the operating framework.

3.6.3.1 Policy Process Framework 1973-1975

In this period the RCC and the cabinet were still the principal bodies of the political structure. By the creation of the PCs, all government agencies were operated by them and became a formal body in the structure. Consequently, the policy process framework in this period is shown in Figure 3.6., to include: the Chairman of the RCC; the RCC; the PM; the Cabinet; the Ministry of Planning (MP); the ASU and the PCs.

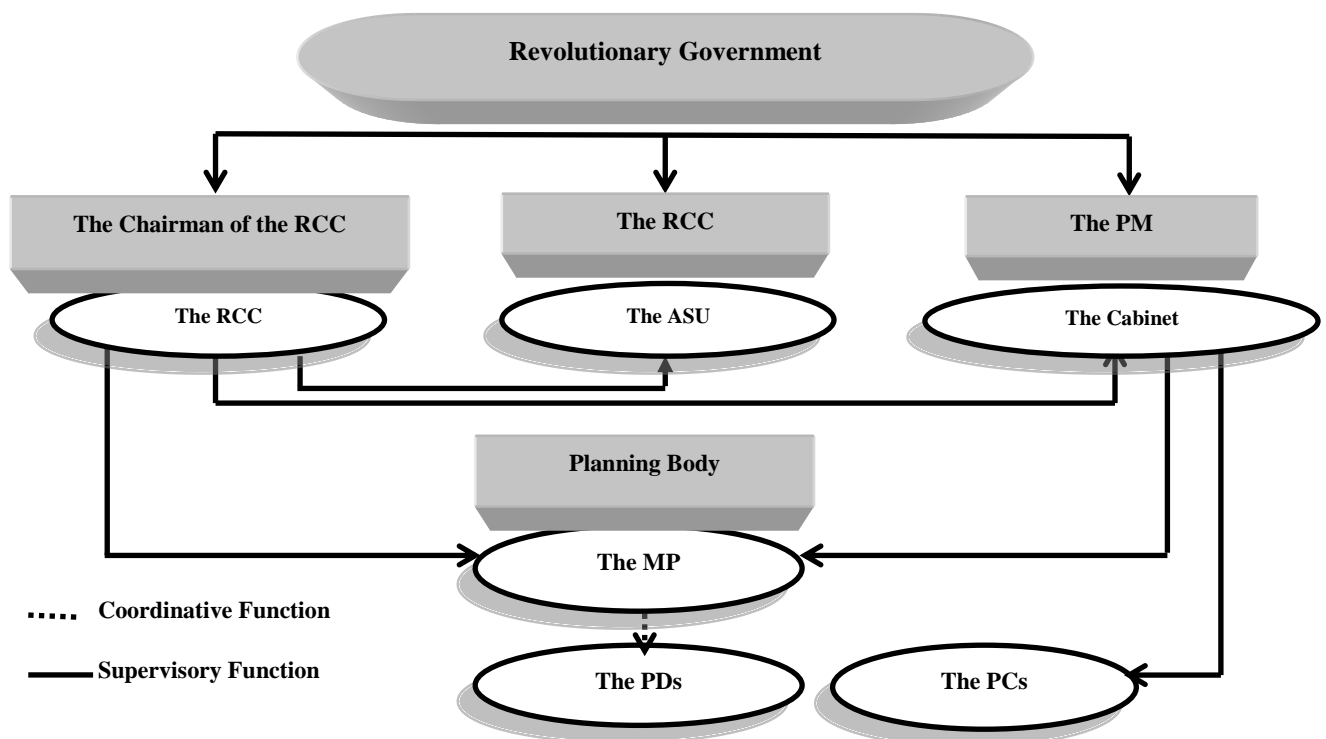


Figure 3.6: Policy Process Framework 1973-1975
 Source: Prepared by the Researcher

As mentioned earlier, the PCs had not practically been recognised as independent bodies since they operated under the supervision and influence of the cabinet. Therefore, in this framework they are linked by a straight line. They only had a limited concern with policy implementation at local and municipal levels. However, the HPC as a principal body of the policy process framework in the previous period was transferred to the MP, which was a formal body of the cabinet, and essentially concerned with policy planning and preparation, and the preparation of the development plans, which contain public policy of the state. It also suggested policy objectives and programmes representing them as a policy issues proposal to the cabinet for consideration. Thus, the MP worked under the direct supervision and influence of the cabinet. At the same time, it coordinated works with all ministries through the PDs. Each division was a formal body of the particular ministry. However, the previous bodies in this period remained under the influence of the RCC. All bodies in this framework served together with each playing a particular role in each stage of the policy process and continued to operate as principal bodies in the policy process framework until 1975, when the ASU was restructured and emerged to be in a new status.

3.6.4 The New Status of the ASU 1975-1977

In Libya, 1975 was a dividing line year from the setup of the PCs in 1973 and the second annual conference of the ASU, which held in November 1974. In this conference, the head of the RCC criticised the mechanisms and structures of the ASU. He stated that, *“the bureaucracy remained intransigent and largely existed in all government agencies and the country still lacks an effective political organisation which would integrate the bureaucracy, the ASU, and PCs into a cohesive and coherent political system through which people can express their views and demands”* (Qaddafi, 1975:37). Vandewalle (2006) also notes that the PCs and the ASU were politically less effective in achieving the purpose of their

establishment. They were found to provide the Libyan people with means that enable them to participate in the political life and encourage them to involve in the policy process but, in reality, they were not making as much progress as intended. These criticisms led the national general congress to recommend that, amendments should be made to the structure of the ASU to improve the harmony between the PCs and the ASU's units. Accordingly, the ASU was restructured leading to the establishment of the Basic People Congresses (BPCs) through which the political authority in the state can be practiced. People who live in same locality can organise themselves to establish their own BPC. Thus, BPCs were established in each political unit, the term unit here is equivalent to a ward in the UK.

Each BPC selected a secretariat from its members to lead the congress and local people committee to administer and supervise all government agency and services at the local level. The function of the BPCs in this organisation was only to discuss recommendations, directives and policy issues introduced by the General Secretariat of the GPC (GSGPC). They also consider policy and express their views and demands as policy recommendations before submitting them to the GPC. In addition, the secretariats of the BPCs located at the same municipality or city would constitute the People Congress of the Municipality (PCM). The latter selected a secretariat called the Municipality People Committee (MPC), which was concerned with policy implementation at the municipal level. The task of the secretariats of the BPCs and the PCM was to collect the consensus views, decisions and recommendations of the people which were agreed in their meetings. They scheduled these decisions and then presented them as an agenda to be considered at the annual gathering of the GPC. In this organisation, the GPC was chaired by the RCC who remained the highest authority in the state. Thus, the new structure of the ASU consisted of three main parts, the BPCs, the PCMs and the GPC (Bludy and Lycett, 1988). As shown in Figure 3.7, the BPCs are the basic and

principal units, because they include all members of the ASU who are resident in the same unit or ward, while the PCM comprises the secretariats of the BPCs who are located at the same municipality. The GPC consists of the RCC, the cabinet, the secretariats of the BPCs, the secretariats of the PCMs, the General Secretariats of the Trade Unions and Syndicates (GSTUSs), the secretariats of the LPCs and MPCs as well as heads of the Universities and the Government Institutions (the General Secretariat of the ASU, 1975; Gannous *et al.*, 1999). However, the law No. 39/1975 was issued to establish the municipalities to serve as sub-national government bodies. By this arrangement, the Libyan government intended to move towards a decentralized system. Consequently, the state was divided into a number of municipalities and each one sub-divided into localities, (Code of Legislation, 1975). The Municipalities Ministry was also established in central government to supervise the functions of these municipalities.

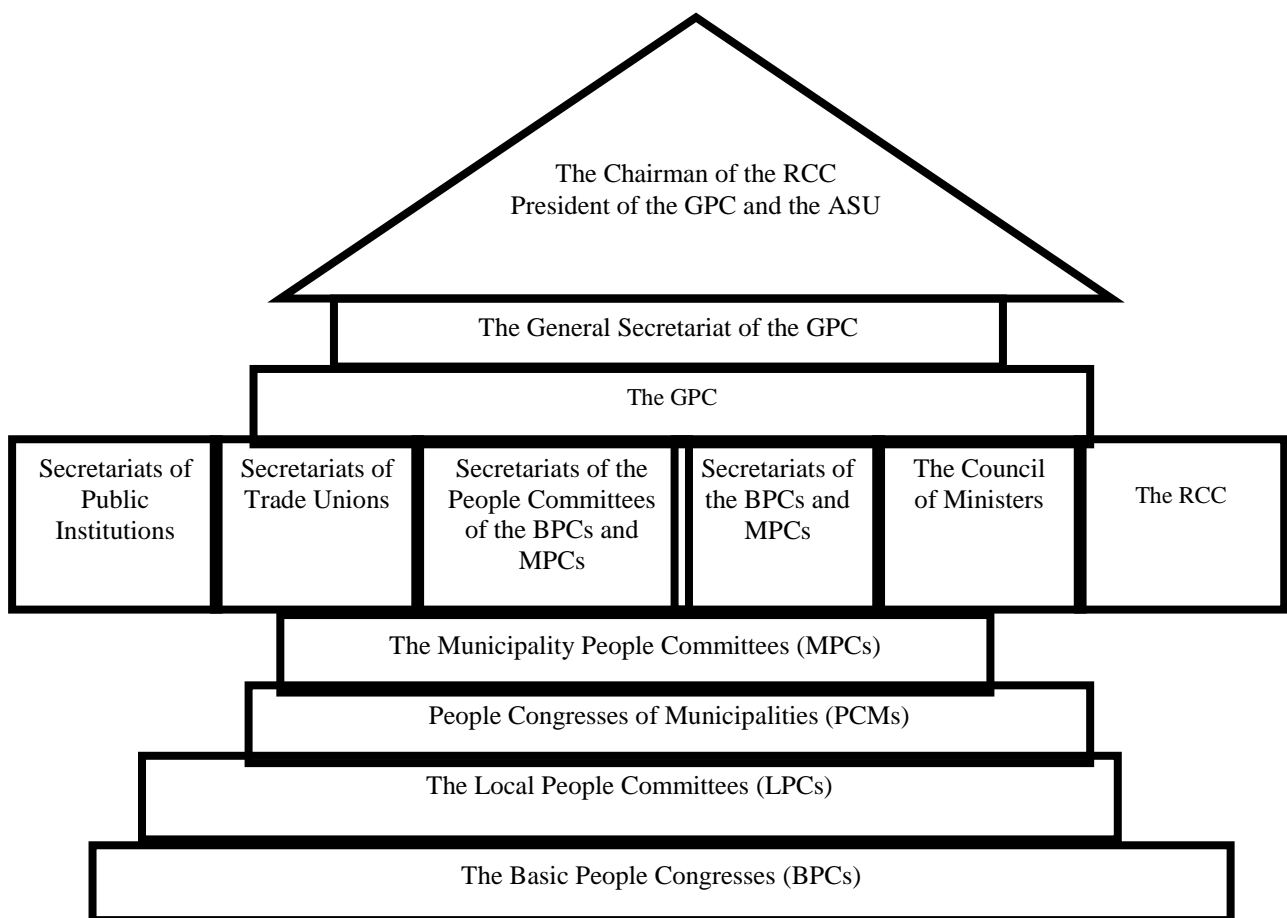


Figure 3.7: The New Structure of the ASU

Source: The General Secretariat of the ASU, 1975 and Gannous *et al.*, (1999)

In this structure, the GPC and its general secretariat that was chaired by a member of the RCC, was given more power than other bodies. It fundamentally served as a national assembly; therefore, it considered and approved public policy proposals that were introduced by the RCC, including development plans. In addition, in this structure, the RCC became a member of the GPC and at the same time still worked as an independent body in accordance with its position as the head of the state. Its chairman was the president of the GPC and the ASU, and so, it still had a broad power and was autonomously involved in the policy process, particularly policy initiation. Thus, in this period, some progress was made through the development of the people's participation in the policy process. This was achieved by the establishment of the BPCs and the greater power that was given to the GPC and the BPCs regarding the policy process. These two organisationally became the principal elements of the political structure and had more power over the policy process. They played a vital role in the first session of the GPC when the first five year development plan 1976-1980 was discussed and approved by the GPC (Secretariat of General People's Congress, 1993). Therefore, they are included in the policy process framework, although they functioned under the supervision of the RCC.

3.6.4.1 Policy Process Framework 1975-1977

As a result of the restructuring the ASU and the establishment of the BPCs; the GPC and the BPCs became the significant bodies of the policy process framework. This leads to the framework in this period to include the following bodies:

- a) The Chairman of the RCC,
- b) The RCC,
- c) The Cabinet,
- d) The Ministry of Planning (MP),
- e) The General People Congress (GPC),
- f) The People Committee (PCs) and

g) The Basic People Congresses (BPCs).

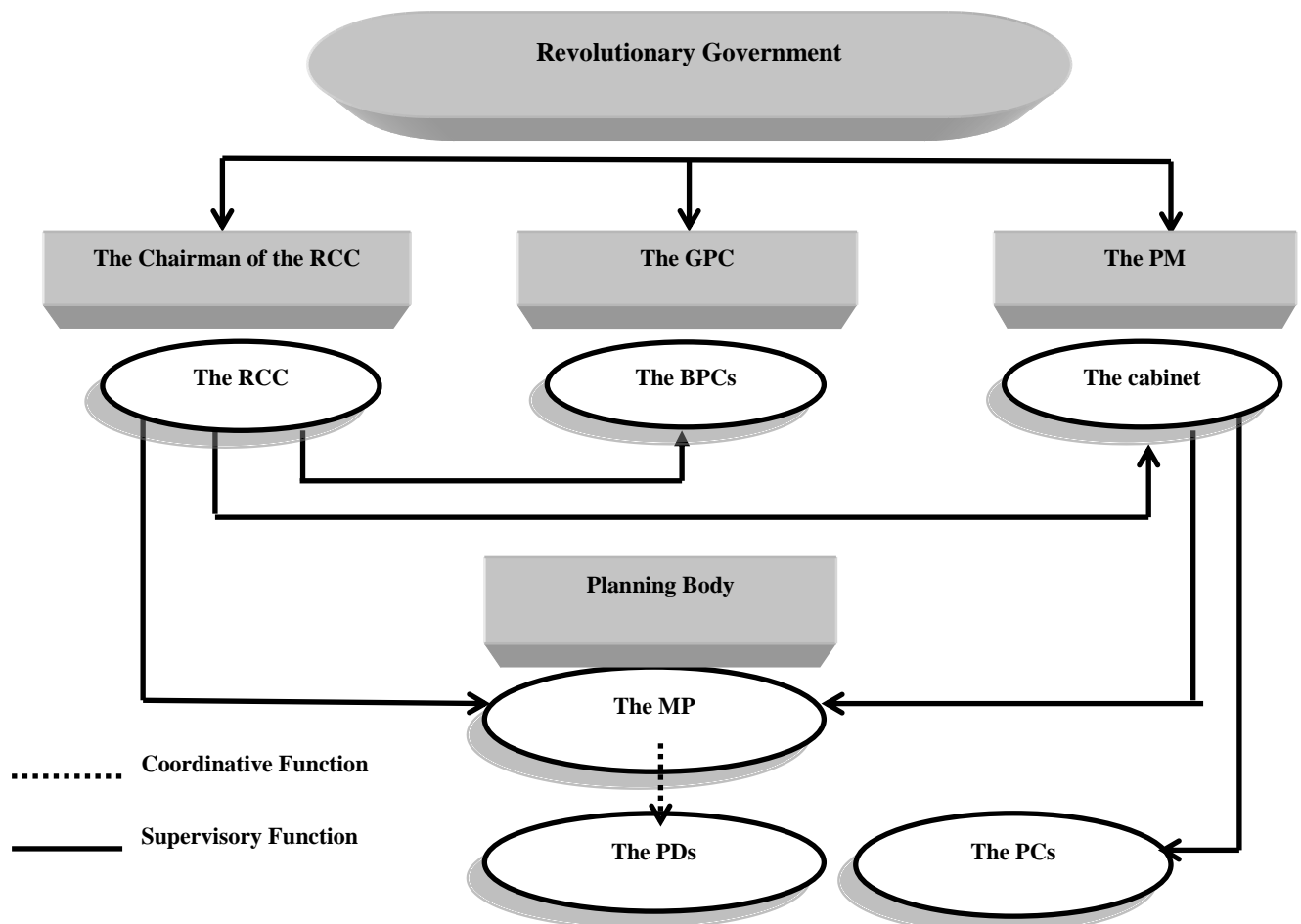


Figure 3.8: Policy Process Framework 1975-1977

Source: Prepared by the Researcher

In this period and as shown in Figure 3.8., the RCC, the GPC and the BPCs were fundamentally concerned with policy initiation while the cabinet and the PCs were responsible for policy formulation and implementation. The PCs' concern with policy implementation was only at the local and municipal levels and operated under the supervision of the cabinet. The GPC, as the highest authority of the ASU, served as a national assembly where bills and policy issues were discussed and approved. The five-year development plan 1976-80 was discussed by the BPCs and approved by the GPC. It hence became a policy that was ready for implementation. The BPCs were officially part of the GPC that was headed by the RCC. In addition, the MP was a formal body of the cabinet because it directly functioned

under its administration. It was concerned with policy planning and on some occasions, suggested policy programmes and objectives. However, the RCC, as the highest authority in the state, influenced all bodies in this framework. It was the principal source of policy ideas and a filter of policy issues that would be offered to the GPC for consideration. It was mainly involved in policy initiation, and influenced policy formulation and implementation. This framework continued operating until early 1977, when the GPC held its annual meeting to discuss a proposal introduced by the chairman of the RCC. The proposal was regarding the re-organising the state's political structure and establishing the People's Authority (Vandewalle, 1998).

The main objective of this action, as Simons (1996) points out, was to hand the authority for decision making, in all aspects of government, to the people through the BPCs 'mutamarat' and the Local PCs 'lijan'. Accordingly, the political structure was essentially changed and the revolutionary government was expired and replaced by the Jamahiriya System as a new method for the policy process practice, in which people congresses decide policies and the people committees implement them. Thus, the RCC was formally abandoned from all political authorities and any official responsibilities and positions were determined in the PCP of 1969 and other legislations. Qaddafi, as the chairman of the RCC and the head of state was the first General Secretary of the GPC from 1977 until early 1979, when he relinquished the post to concentrate on what he described as "revolutionary activities with the masses". Hence, he retained his new position as de facto commander-in-chief of the armed forces and adopted the new title of Leader of the Revolution (LoR). Since then, he increasingly devoted himself to revolutionary actions, in his own words, he explained that "I lead the revolution and my mission is to instigate the masses to practice directly the political authority as well as to ensure the separation of the state from the revolution" (Muscat, 1981; Gaddafi & Jouve,

2005).According to his new position, his duty was to encourage, guide and urge people to seize the political authority and involve directly in the policy process and to exercise the revolutionary supervision in order to ensure the actual implementation of the decided policies and decisions by the BPCs (St John, 1987). But in fact, he had influences on all formal bodies involving in the policy process as will be seen later. Thus, during the period 1969-1977 several political actions have been taken in Libya, which ended with the Jamahiriya System. The purpose of these actions is to establish national political system providing people with an opportunity to effectively participate in the policy process. The political structures of the Jamahiriya System are described in the next section.

3.7 The Political Structures and Policy Process Frameworks 1977-2011

The Jamahiriya political system, launched in Libya on 2nd March 1977 by adopting a scheme in an extraordinary session of the GPC, included four points. One of them is that “the political authority in Libya was for the all people who directly practice it through the people congresses, the people committees, the syndicates unions and professional associations, and the GPC” (Code of Legislation, 1977). The purpose of this scheme was to encourage Libyan people to start getting involved in the policy process by discussing various domestic and foreign matters, and agree an agenda of important policy issues. Such issues ranged widely from the discussion of bills to the making public policies.

Accordingly, Libya has divided into a number of BPCs and into Local PCs all over the state, each of which has a secretariat that is mainly responsible for organising the congress and writing down the decisions made (concerning all aspects of the state) by congress participation. In addition to choosing the congress’s secretariat, the BPCs were also responsible for choosing the PCs (local ministries) of the different secretariats. Besides, there were a number of unions such as youth, women, teachers, producers and other professional

unions and syndicates, to name but a few. Their secretariats have to be chosen by its workers and employees in their own Professional Congresses and not by the BPCs. Secretariats of the BPCs carry the decisions, recommendations and demands of people, which are agreed in their meetings to the GPC. The latter in turn annually gathers and discusses the BPCs' decisions and that with majority approval are transferred by its General Secretariat as approved policies to the General People Committee (GPCCommittee) or 'cabinet' for implementation(Qaddafi, 2005). Thus, secretariats of the BPCs, PCs and unions gather annually in the GPC to take their final shape and to formulate their decisions. This is at least what the official Libyan claim would be according to the political principles and ideology of the state as expressed by Qaddafi, in his publication titled the Green Book "the Third Universal Theory". The latter was based on his ideas to establish a new form of the government and the practice of the political power in Libya basing on people congresses that decide policies and people committees that implement them, and through which a direct involvement of people in the policy process can be granted. Consequently, the political structure of the Jamahiriya political system consists of four formal bodies, which are directly involved in the policy process

3.7.1 The Structure of the Jamahiriya System

As shown in Figure 3.9, the four formal bodies of the Jamahiriya System are: the BPCs, the PCs, the Trade Unions and Syndicates (TUSs) and the GPC, which constitute the formal political structures (Code of legislation, 2007). These parts operate together to produce the public policy of the state and each one correlates with the BPCs as the principal body of the political structure. The role of these bodies in the policy process cannot be understood without explaining the mechanism operation of each one.

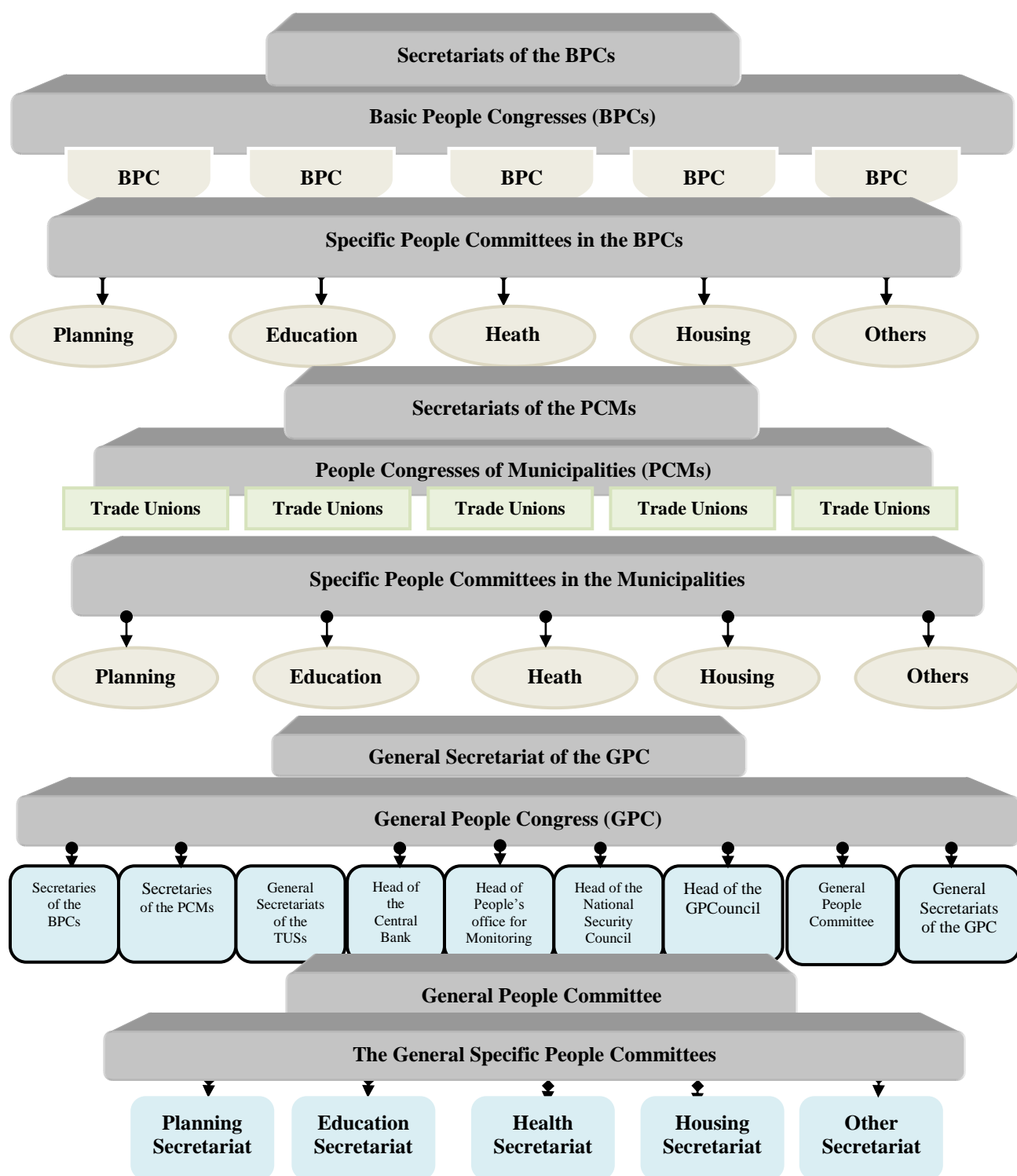
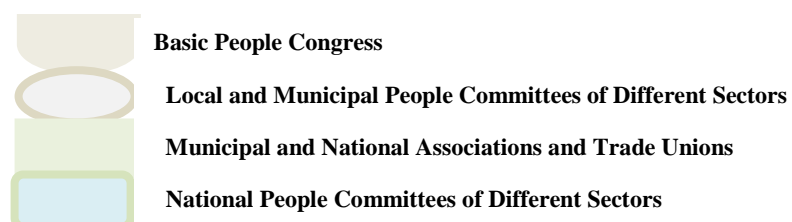


Figure 3.9: The Political Structure in the Jamahiriya System

Source: Developed from: Code of Legislation "Law No 1/2010 of the Working System of People Congresses and People Committees, issue (5), Year (7) on 30 May 2010. The GPC' Resolution No 12/2007 of Defining the Membership of the GPC on 22 January 2007.



3.7.1.1 The People Congresses

People Congresses are constituted by dividing Libyan people into the Basic People Congresses (BPCs), and all citizens who live in the same locality area can register themselves as members of the BPC in their area or ward. The BPC is the smallest administrative subdivision or unit of government in Libya and each BPC may consist of a number of communes. Geographically it corresponds approximately to the level of a township or borough (Code of Legislations, 2007). Therefore, the BPCs' membership is open to all adult citizens who inhabit within the boundaries of the each BPC, and the boundaries are determined by the political and administrative borders of the unit or locality. The latter is determined by the people's need for services and the population density in such an area. It also forms according to the availability of the resources necessary, taking into account the conditions of remote areas. As a result, the number of the BPCs is not fixed; it may decrease or increase. For instance, in the GPC meeting in 2006, the number was 460 and in the last meeting in December 2009, was 468 BPCs. Details of how the BPCs who were involved in the policy process took to account the views of people they were representing will be discussed in Chapter 6.3.2.1.

The BPCs alone possess the legislative authority and directly consider all domestic and foreign issues, including matters of peace and war. They also consider policy issues in different policy areas, particularly policy initiation. Every BPC selects a secretariat among its members to lead the congress and a Local People Committee "LPC" to administer and supervise all public services within its boundaries. The LPC is responsible for its performance to the BPC. The function of the BPC's secretariat is to call all members within its boundaries for meeting, administer the BPC's sessions, collect and formulate people's agreed decisions, and follow up their implementation with the LPC. The BPCs convene at

two scheduled meetings per year or is called upon necessity. The first meeting the BPCs discuss issues relating to the local business, and set a detailed agenda for the next meeting. Day-to-day management and oversight was also provided in this meeting by the LPCs appointed by the congress. At the second meeting seats on LPCs were filled, representatives elected and policies at the national and international level were discussed. In addition to this, representatives from the BPCs regulated operations at the higher municipality level. Hence, the secretariats of the BPCs who were located in the same municipality “city council”, would form their people’s congress at the municipal level called People Congress of Municipality (PCM) which is the gathering of the secretariats of the BPCs. Each PCM selects a secretariat to lead the congress and a Municipal People Committees “MPC” “city councillors” to administer and supervise all public services and activities within the Municipality. The PCM has the authority to list, coordinate and rectify the decisions and recommendations of the BPCs of the Municipality. It also controls and monitor activities of the MPC and all government institutions within the municipality boundaries and evaluates their performance. Thus, the People Congresses (BPCs and MPCs) are principal formal bodies of the political structure of the Jamahiriya System and through these bodies people can involve in the policy process.

3.7.1.2 The People Committees (PCs)

The People Committees (PCs) are mainly concerned with the implementation of selected policies. Therefore, they run in all government agencies and various public institutions at the local, the municipal and the national levels. At the local levels, there is LPCs that work through the BPCs and each committee is elected by the members of the BPC. Its number depends on the number of secretariats or ministries run in the state. The LPC is responsible for administering local services in different policy areas, such as education, health, justice,

transport, housing, and telecommunications. It exercises its authority only within the local boundaries of the BPC. In addition, members of the LPCs who are located in the same municipality would constitute the MPC “city councillors”. The latter consists of the general secretary, 'mayor', and secretary of each sector (health, education, housing and etc), who are selected from the People Congress of the Municipality (PCM). The MPC administers all government activities within the municipality and has the power to use all the economic, social and financial resources of the municipality. Therefore, it practices its authority only within the municipality boundaries and is responsible for its activity to the PCM. It is essentially concerned with the implementation of policy programmes and projects, and other policies relating to the municipality in different policy areas. It suggests policy plans and public institutions that should be established in the municipality, as well as follows up their activities and performance. It works under the direct supervision and control of the General People Committee (GPCCommittee) “government”, which principally concerns with the policy implementation at the national level (The Cod of legislations, 2007).

At the national level, the GPCCommittee is the government of the state acts as secretaries for various ministries. It comprises of a general secretary and a number of secretaries “ministers” depending on the secretariats or ministries set up in the country. These secretaries are appointed by the GPC in its annual meeting for three years to be responsible for the routine operation of their ministries, as well as responsible to it for their performance and activity. They are mainly concerned with policy formulation and implementation by considering how the decided laws and selected policies can be implemented. They can propose new bills and policies in accordance with guidelines set out by the BPCs. They can also suggest rectification of the existing legislations, to be considered and discussed by the BPCs. They prepare project proposals and budgets and other policy issues as well as prepare the

development plans through appointed committees that consist of policy planners and experts in each area of public policy, and then submit them as policy proposals to the GPC for consideration and approval. The GPCCommittee sets up, consolidates and organises all public institutions, companies and public works and determines their functions and missions. It monitors and supervises the LPCs, the MPCs and all government agencies and public companies (Code of Legislation, 1981; 1984 and 1985, and Vandewalle, 2006). The People Committees at the local, municipal and national levels are principally concerned with policy formulation and implementation, and their services are organisationally determined in implementing the selected policies. However, they may play a significant role in policy initiation, in particular the GPCCommittee as a government of the state.

3.7.1.3 The Trade Unions and Syndicates

The Trade Unions and Syndicates (TUSs) are the third part of the formal structure of the Jamahiriya System. They are formed by organising all Libyan workers into unions and syndicates in addition to being, as citizens, members of the BPCs. Each union would select a secretariat to tackle their problems and serve as a professional self-regulatory committee (Gaddafi, 2005). Accordingly, professional congresses are established in all public and educational institutions, commercial and industrial companies as well as in any large or small scale industries. Members of each profession would form their own union and select a general secretary to represent them and defend their professional rights. Thus, through these congresses and unions, workers and employees can tackle their problems and express their views and demands. In practice, the trade unions were only formed at the municipal levels, and each union selects its secretariat, in turn sending delegates to participate in the general federation at the national level. Then each municipal federation selects its own General Secretariat to represent them in the PCM and each national federation selects its own General

Secretariat to represent them in the GPC, and speak on issues of relevance to the unions. Thus, the TUSs can express their views and demands in the professional congresses to take their final action and shape in the GPC where their agreed views would be presented as policy issues by their General Secretariat in the annual gathering of the GPC. The latter merely lists, records, adjusts and formulates decisions, policies and actions taken by the professional congresses, and contains them to a political agenda that would be transferred to the BPCs for discussion.

In addition, the TUSs can tackle their problems as members of the BPCs through their participation on issues under discussion, particularly those related to their professional rights and where more clarification is needed. Members of the TUSs here act in their role as citizens and members of the BPCs; therefore, they can express their view on issues under discussion and suggest issues during the session of agenda setting. In some sessions, the TUSs' views face opposing views from the other members of the BPC who have the right to express their views, while the TUS' members have a special interest in and knowledge of an issue. In such case the professional dimensions are clarified by the TUSs' members, because they are professional and experts in that area, but in this case, they express their views as members of the BPCs. Consequently, they participate in the BPCs discussions and express their view as members of the BPCs not as members of the unions. Thus, the TUSs in Libya do not function independently, as would typically be expected from pressure or interest groups in the UK or other countries whose different methods and means to express their views and demands to the government. They operate through the machinery of the political system as a formal body of the political structure.

3.7.1.4 The General People Congress

The General People Congress (GPC) is a gathering of secretaries of the Basic and the Municipal People Congresses, the People Committees and the TUSs. Since its formation, it chooses a General Secretariat in its annual meeting which consists of a Secretary General and a number of secretaries, who are jointly responsible to the GPC, while every secretary is responsible for the sector or activity he/she supervises. The General Secretariat (GS) is responsible for preparing the sessions of the GPC, drawing up an agenda of the BPCs, signing the laws by order of the congress, and accepting the credentials of the representatives of foreign countries. The GPC has annually met in two ordinary sessions and all legislative authorities are technically vested in it. It functions as a national parliament in most other countries therefore; it has a formal power to formulate policies, bills, decisions and recommendations of the BPCs. It functions as a sounding board of receiving the arising issues, which are expressed, considered and decided by the BPCs and the TUSs, through secretariats of the BPCs, the PCs and the TUSs. Also, through the activity of its GS, it classifies and schedules all received issues, whether arising by the BPCs and the TUSs or defined and determined by the GPCCommittee as a government and the NPCouncil as an expertise body of policy planning, in order to set an agenda to be presented for discussion and approval. It also selects and questions the GPCCommittee, the Governor of the Libyan Central Bank, the Head of the Higher Court, the Attorney General and the Secretary of the People Control (Code of Legislation, 2007). Once the decisions and policies are approved by the GPC, the General Secretariat of the GPC transfers them to the GPCCommittee as approved policies ready for implementation. Thus, the GPC is the highest legislative authority in the state and any bills or policies cannot be valid for enactment or implementation before their approval by the GPC. The latter as a de jour and highest legislative authority, therefore, is responsible for drawing policies and issuing the general laws upon which the different

government institutions and public sector companies are managed. Thus, the GPC is the fourth formal principal body of the political structure in the Jamahiriya System through which the policy process in Libya can be examined and its framework is identified. A correlation of these bodies is shown in the Figure 3.10.

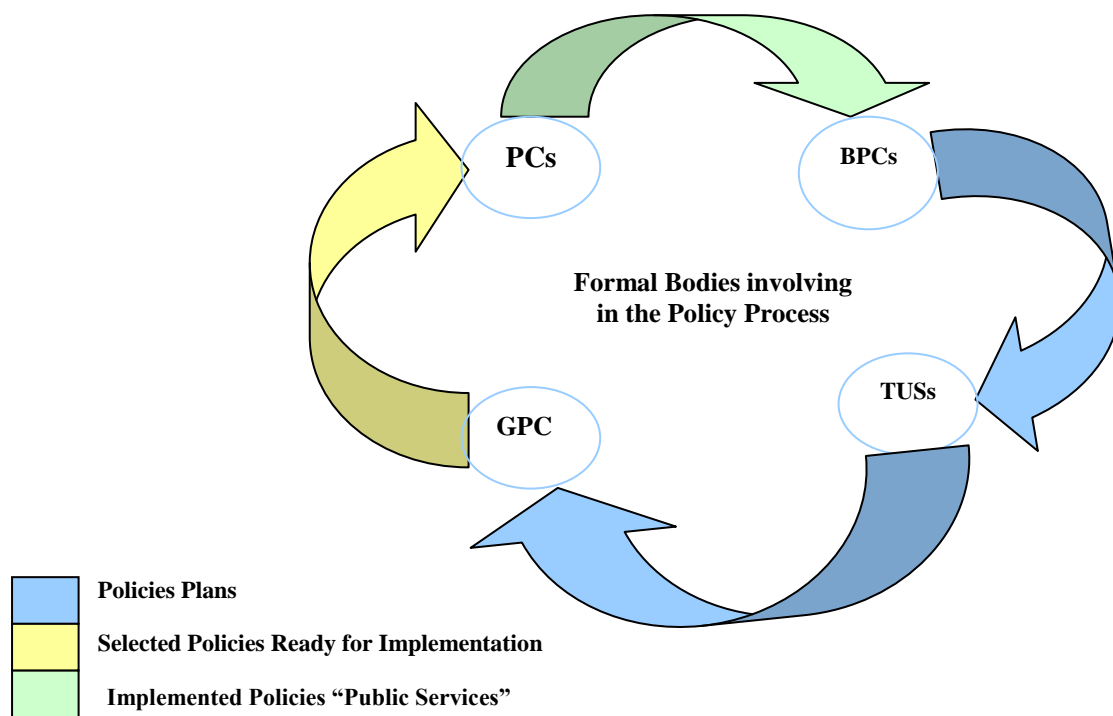


Figure 3.10: the Libyan Formal Bodies involving in the Policy Process

In addition to the mentioned four formal parts, the General Planning Council (GPCouncil) was established in 1998 under the GPC, and technically is concerned with policy planning and preparation. In 2001, it was restructured leading to the establishment of Municipality Planning Councils (MPCouncils) in each municipality 'City', which work under the GPCouncil. The MPCouncils are concerned with policy preparation of their own cities in cooperation with the City Expert Associations (CEAs), which were established in each city. In 2006, the GPCouncil was developed to become the National Planning Council (NPCouncil) and headed by Secretary General nominated by the GPC. It consists of Members of the GPCcommittee "cabinet", General Secretariat of the GPC, Secretary of the People's

Office for Monitoring and Controlling, the Governor of the Central Bank, and Heads of the National Security Council, the MPCouncils and the Financial and Economic Institutions run in the state. It also includes Directors of the Research Centres, Chancellors of the Universities, Representative of the General Transitional Committee of Defence, and the President of the Industrial and Commercial Chamber (Code of legislation, 1998; 2001; 2002; 2007). It comprises policy planners, advisers, and experts, and professional groups and individuals who have experience and specialist knowledge and detailed information in different policy areas. It also can consult other experts outside mentioned institutions for policy planning. It coordinates with the MPCouncils and all government agencies and ministries to prepare public policy of the state. To do this task, it closely and jointly works with the GPCCommittee, and all government agencies, public institutions and other academic and research to develop, prepare and formulate policy proposals into a policy plan. It considers in detail each sector's policy plans, and determines what appropriate action should be developed to respond to public needs and demands, which have been expressed by the BPCs and placed on the policy agenda. It specifically prepares detailed statements of policy strategies, policy objectives and priorities, policy programmes and projects, and necessary allocations by which intended objectives can be achieved, and then present them as a policy plans for discussion in its ordinary meetings. The council has annually held three ordinary meetings to discuss the presented issues; it may also hold extraordinary meetings to discuss particular issues as necessary needs arise from the society. Satisfactory plans are sent to the GPC for consideration and approval. Therefore, it engages in policy formulation by defining and suggesting policy objectives and priorities in accordance with guidelines stated by the BPCs (Code of legislation, 2002; General Planning Council, 2005).

Furthermore, it monitors and measures the achievement ratios of implemented policies by preparing periodical reports about the government's achievements of their own policies. This has been done through reviewing the information provided by the government agencies themselves, about their performance and achievements. The purpose of this activity is to provide suggestions for improving the existing policies by deciding whether to continue with, rectify, or discard a policy or develop new ones. Thus, the NPCouncil and the MPCouncils have engaged in policy planning and formulation at the municipal and national levels. Due to their significant involvement in the policy process, they are included in the policy process framework in this period as formal bodies.

Although, the Leader of the Revolution (LoR) has no official place in the Jamahiriya system, due to his honourable position as teaching leader, his opinion, suggestion, comments and hints were still very important at both levels of GPC (legislative body) and GPCCommittee (executive body) (Gzema, 1999). Beside his official position as a higher commander of military forces, and a temporal and limited role to the purpose of encouraging people to gain and practice their power, in practice he played an influential role at the legislative level (in enacting laws and general policies) and at the executive level, and on some occasions in suggesting the selection of the secretaries and members of the secretariat of the GPC, GPCCommittee. Due to the fact that the LoR is an unofficial part of the structure, its relation with, and influence on most political activities including the policy process, fall inside the boundaries of the structure and its inclusion in a dotted-line shape in the diagram (see Figure 3.11), reflects its informality and at the same time reflects its influence on the whole structure. As it is an informal body, it is not subject any direct lines, but because of its sensitivity, it is included in the framework. Thus, the LoR in the Jamahiriya System has no official position, but due to his relation with the policy process, he is included to the policy

process framework in this period as an informal agent.

3.7.2 Policy Process Framework 1977-2011

The political structure in this period consists of four formal bodies, and the GPC is the highest body that responsible for drawing and approving public policy of the state. It is also responsible for issuing the laws by which the government institutions can be organised and operated. The Planning Secretariat in this framework is a formal body of the GPCCommittee and it functions under its direct supervision. It is seen as a technical body concerned with policy planning and preparation, so it is linked by a straight line with the GPCCommittee. The GPCouncil was established in 2001 as an “expertise house” worked under the GPC (as linked by a straight line). Since its establishment, it has coordinated with the MPCouncils and all secretariats, concerning itself with policy definition and formulation (as linked by dotted line). In addition, the LoR, as mentioned earlier, has no official position in the Jamahiriya system, thus he is seen as informal body in the Jamahiriya System. Therefore, he is formally not subject to any direct link with anybody, but due his effective participation and influence on all formal parts of the political structure, he is included to the policy process framework in this period as an informal agent. The policy process framework in this period as depicted in Figure 3.11. includes the following bodies:

- a) The Basic People Congresses (BPCs),
- b) The People Committees (PCs),
- c) The Trade Union and Syndicates (TUSs),
- d) The General People Congress (GPC) and
- e) The National Planning Council (NPCouncil)
- f) The Municipality Planning Councils (MPCouncils)
- g) The Planning Secretariat (PS)

h) The Leader of the Revolution (LoR)

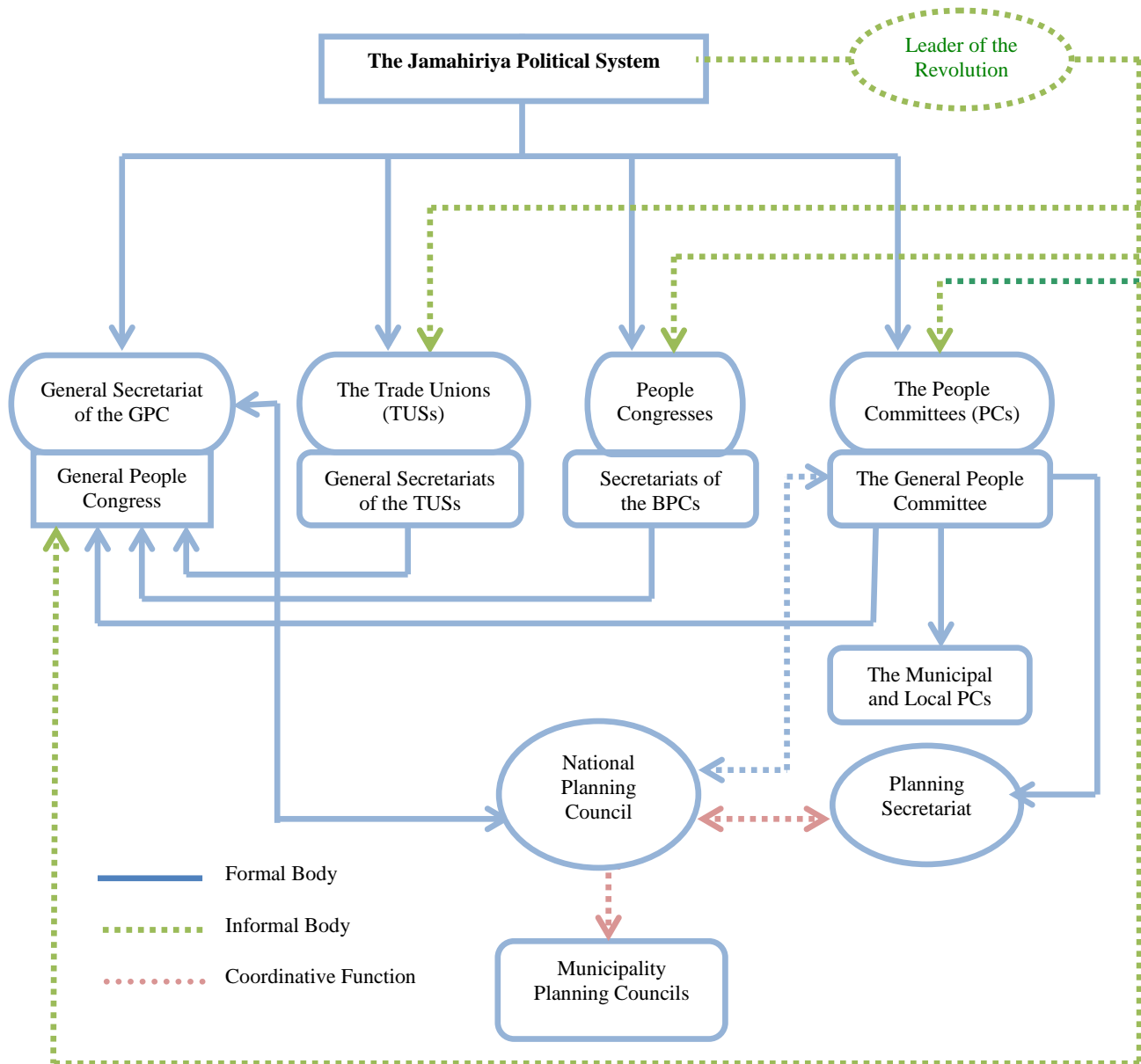


Figure3.11: Policy Process Framework 1977-2011
Prepared by the Researcher

3.8 Conclusion

The historical background, the surrounding environment, and the political structures have all played an important role in the development of policy process of Libya. The various invasions suffered by the country throughout its history i.e. by the Greeks Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Sicilians, Spanish, Knights of Malta, Turks,

Italians, English, and French, contributed to Libya remaining a poor country, with only some of the required physical and social infrastructures. It had been ruled during this period by these colonialists without a national government able to consider its public policies. Since its independence in 1951 and the establishment of a modern state, the Libyan government started to consider how to develop its public policy by taking some steps towards the development of modern schools, hospitals roads and municipal facilities. But its activity was very limited and imperceptible, particularly prior the oil discovery and production, which lead to the lack of improvements of the public policy in particular, of the policy process.

In 1961, with development of oil production and industry, oil revenue became the main source of financing for the government. Thus, its activities dramatically expanded in different policy areas, particularly during the early years of the revolution and the set-up of the republic in 1969. Since then, a set of comprehensive development plans have been made as well as a range of developments have occurred on the political structures. The purpose of these arrangements was to establish an appropriate political structure to enable people to participate in the policy process and improve its mechanism. These developments fall into five main periods and each period was characterised by a distinctive framework of policy process, which helps to straightforwardly reveal how the public policy is prepared, and to recognise who the principal participants involved in the policy process.

During the initial period of the revolution 1969-71, the RCC was formed and placed at the top of the political structure and largely involved in policy initiation. It directly supervised the function of the cabinet that was principally responsible for policy formulation and implementation. In the period 1971-73, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) was created as a national political organisation. It was conceived to be an effective organisation representing

all people and enabling them to participate in the policy process. During the period 1973-75 the People Revolution was announced leading to all local and municipal institutions being run by people's committees. The action was taken to make people responsible for their own policy affairs and to directly involve in policy process. In the period 1975-1977, the structure of the ASU was amended leading to the creation of the Basic People's Congress, which became the principal elements of the political structure and had more power over public policy. Thus, some progress was made in improving the public policy process; this happened through the development of the people's consultation and participation in discussing a variety of policy issues. The development of the people's consultation and participation had been extended, particularly since 1977 when the political system was essentially changed, leading to the establishment of the People Authority as a formal political structure in the state through which people could practice any political activities. Since then, the Libyan people have been involved in the public policy process through their memberships in the Basic People Congresses as principal passage where policy proposals can be recognised and defined. The General Planning Council has also been involved in the policy process.

Despite all the developments that have occurred in the Libyan political structures and government institutions through which selected policies are developed and implemented, there is still a shortage of information about the policy process, and any in place are ill defined and not well documented due to several reasons as mentioned previously in Chapter 1.2. This chapter has examined the Libyan political structure and frameworks of policy process through which policy idea and issues are developed and processed into public policy. The next chapter will examine in detail, the research methodology through which the aims of the study can be reached.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Research methodology is a systemic and orderly approach taken towards the collection and analysis of data (Collis and hussy, 2009). The research process is the overall activities conducted by the researcher in order to achieve the research aims and objectives, and give answers to the addressed problem or research questions. It addresses the way by which the researcher approaches problems and seeks for answers. Therefore, it is irrational to carry out research without understanding the methodological issues. The purpose of this chapter therefore is to describe the research methodology adopted to achieve the aim and objectives of the study.

Having defined the research questions arising from the literature review informed by the research problem, the methodology for addressing the questions is developed in Chapter 4. This is achieved by following a process linking philosophy, approach and technique, and concludes with the design of a case study. The main philosophies considered in this chapter are -positivism and phenomological - and their assumptions -ontological, epistemological and axiological- as principal aspects of determining the research approach and design in order to explain how the choice of research approach influences the way in which data can be collected. Techniques of data collection and analysis are also considered in this chapter. Finally, this chapter addresses the validity and reliability of the case study data. Therefore, this chapter describes the research methodology adopted to achieve the aim and objectives of the study. It starts by elaborating on various definitions of research methodology that have been advanced.

4.2 Definition of Research Methodology

The concept of research methodology has attracted much attention from scholars, producing many different definitions. Cooper and Schindler (2008) see research as, a systemic inquiry aimed at providing information to solve problems. Similarly, Sekaran (2009:4-5) describes research as, *“a multi-step process and an organised, systemic, data-based, critical, objective, scientific inquiry or investigation into a specific problem undertaken with the purpose of finding answers or solutions to it”*. Further, he suggests that the main purposes of any conducted research are to solve an existing problem and to add contribution to the general body of knowledge in a particular area of interest. Bassey (1999:38) also states that, *“research is a systematic, critical and self-critical enquiry which aims to contribute advancement of knowledge and wisdom”*. Saunders *et al.* (2012:5) also define it as: *“something that people undertake in order to find out things in a systematic way, thereby increasing their knowledge”*. However, Collis and Hussey (2009) note that there is no consensus definition in the literature; research means different things to different people. They conclude that from the many different definitions have been advanced, there is an agreement that research can be seen as a process of enquiry and investigation, a systematic and methodical enquiry, and an effort of increasing knowledge.

Research, therefore, is generally defined as a systematic investigation that aims to contribute to the knowledge. Thus, research methodology represents a systematised process followed by researchers in their collection and analysis of data, with the aim of properly identifies issues to be discussed, and achieving the objectives of the study under investigation. Accordingly, Sadava and McCreary (1997) suggest seven issues that should be addressed before performing research. These are: identifying the research goals, defining the variables, selecting a research method, identifying the ethical considerations of the study, identifying

the practical considerations of the study, analysing the data and finally determining the limitations of the study. They also suggest certain questions that must be addressed to select an appropriate method for conducting research including what, why and how questions. The answer to the ‘what’ question explains the research focus, the answer to the ‘why’ question provides the reason for investigating that specific research topic, and the answer to the ‘how’ question explains the research method for that topic focus area. In the present research focus, the ‘what’ and the ‘why’ questions were considered and clarified in chapter one, while the ‘how’ question concerns with the research methodology, which refers, as Remenyi *et al.* (1998) reports, to the procedural framework within which the research can be conducted.

The research methodology is important for reporting in detail how the researcher has obtained his/her findings, which can then be evaluated by others. It refers to overall research process and design, from the theoretical underpinning to the collection and analysis of the data. It expresses the elements of research as a coherent whole, linking and justifying the strategies for answering the research questions within a philosophical framework (Grix, 2010). It is therefore, a set of methods and philosophical assumptions through which research is conducted (Collis and Hussey, 2009; Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012). Thus, it is essential for researchers to understand research process and design, because failure to think about these issues may have a detrimental effect on the quality of the research outcomes.

4.3 Research Design

In designing a research study, it is essential to follow a particular path through which the research can be conducted. The path should be considered the identification of the research philosophy, research approach and strategy and methods of data collection and analysis. It is also important to provide justifications for the choices made in each of these aspects of a

study. The research path followed in this study is illustrated in Figure 4.1., basing on suggestions offered by Saunders *et al.* (2012).

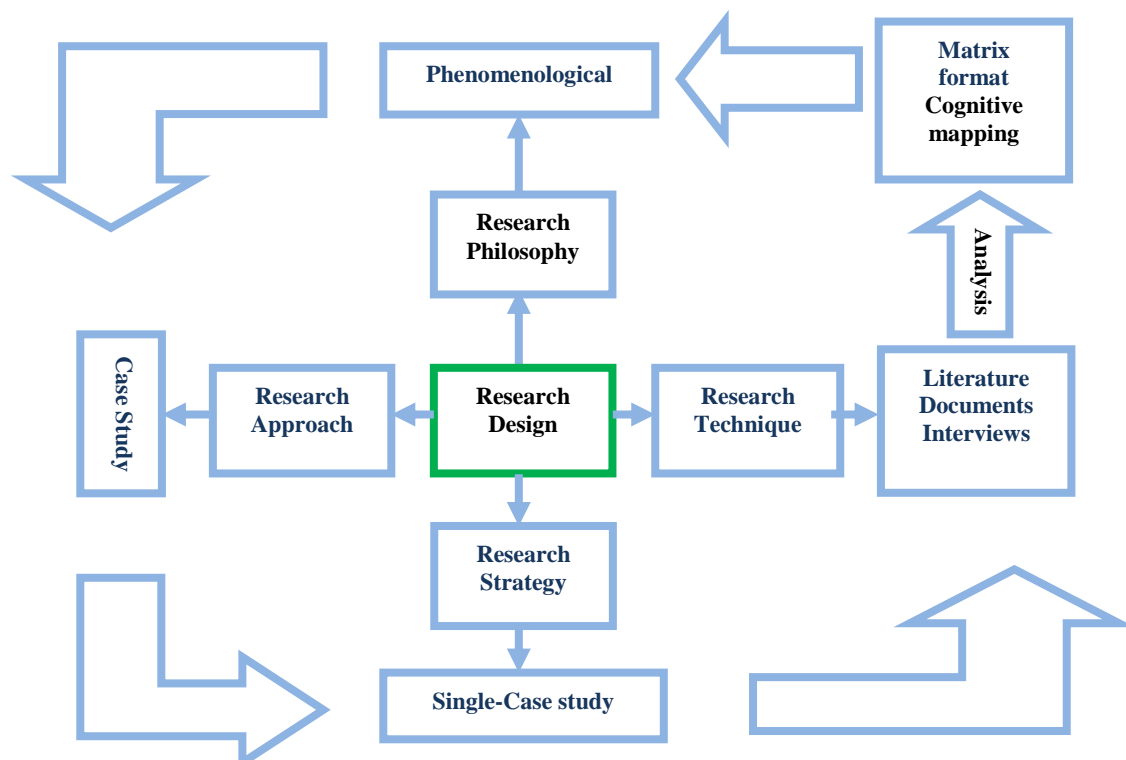


Figure 4.1: The Research Design Path

4.4 Research Philosophy

Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2012) suggest that the understanding of the research's philosophical position is useful in helping researchers to clarify alternative designs, approaches, methods and techniques for a particular piece of research, and to identify which of these alternatives are more likely to be applied in practice. Therefore, it is significant to understand the research philosophy at an early stage, in order to determine the most appropriate research methodology for that particular study. Besides, it is to identify the type of evidence required, and how to gather and interpret it so as to find an answer to the problem under investigation. Saunders *et al.* (2012) also state that research philosophy reflects the way the researcher thinks about the development of knowledge, which in turn affects the way he/she goes about doing the research.

The concept of research philosophy, therefore refers to the progress of scientific practice based on people's views and assumptions regarding the nature of knowledge. It depends on the way that a researcher thinks about the development of knowledge. There is a broad debate in the social sciences concerning the most appropriate philosophical position from which methods should be adopted; the debate has formed a continuum between the two main paradigms that dominate the literature: positivism and phenomenology. Saunders *et al.* (2012) and Collis and Hussey (2009) suggest that the two main distinct and contrasted philosophies that dominate the research process are known as, phenomenological and positivism. The former is described by Remenyi *et al.* (1998) and Creswell (2008) as, a qualitative research, while the latter as a quantitative research. The distinction between the two types has been described by Amaratunga *et al.* (2002) as that the positivists usually use quantitative and experimental methods to test hypothetical-deductive generalisations. They also search for causal explanations and fundamental laws to formulate hypotheses for subsequent verification. This needs the observer to be independent from the subject being observed. The phenomenological inquiry, on the other hand, uses qualitative and naturalistic approaches to inductively and holistically understand human experience in context-specific settings. It tries to explain a phenomenon rather than search for external causes or fundamental laws. Shaw and Gould (2001) state that in qualitative research, researchers attempt to understand meanings that people give to social phenomena. This is usually done by concentrating on observations to express reality and describe people in natural situations. Whilst in quantitative research, as Bryman and Bell (2011) note, researchers seek to generate numerical data and exhibit a view of the relationships between theory and research as a deductive and a predilection for a natural science approach, as well as having an objectivist conception of social reality.

Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2012) highlight the key features of the positivism and the phenomenological paradigms and draw up a set of fundamental methodological implications associated with each paradigm. The associated implications deal with the basic beliefs in the world and the relationships between the researcher and that being researched and the way knowledge can be measured. The key features of each paradigm are illustrated in Table 4.1

Table 4.1: Key Features of the Positivism and the Interpretivism Paradigms

Element	Positivism Paradigm	Phenomenological Paradigm
Basic Beliefs:	-The world is external and objective -Observer is independent -Science is value free	-The world is socially constructed and subjective -Observer is part of what observed -Science is driven by human interests
Researcher Should:	-Focus on facts -Look for causality and fundamental laws -Reduce phenomena to simplest elements -Formulate hypotheses and then test them	-Focus on meanings -Try to understand what is happening -Look at the totality of each situation -Develop ideas through induction from data
Preferred Method Include:	-Operationalising concepts so that they can be measured -Taking large samples	-Using multiple methods to establish different views of phenomena -Small samples investigated in depth interviews
Common Terms	Qualitative, Objectivism, Scientific and Experimental	Qualitative, Subjectivist, Humanistic and Interpretivist

Having briefly described the two contrasting paradigms of a traditional, scientific view of reality as external and governed by natural laws, and of a social reality, knowable through a shared understanding, these can be extended within specific considerations of ontology, epistemology and axiology, which researchers need to be explicit about (Sexton, 2003; Williams, 2003).

4.4.1 Ontology

Ontology, describes the nature of reality that researchers investigate (Grix, 2010). It is based on two stances/positions range from realism to idealism, where realism assumes social and organisational reality exist independently of our awareness or consciousness. On the other hand, idealism describes a reality that is perceived in different ways by individuals, where

everyone experiences a discrete, subjective reality of objects and events (Sexton, 2003; Patthirage *et al.*, 2005). In other words, ontology describes the phenomena being investigated, whether it is an external objective to the researcher, and the researcher is independent of being researched or it is constructed as the researcher is not independent but he/she is an essential part of it. Ontologically, positivisms realise the reality is being external and objective, while phenomologists understand reality as holistic and socially constructed and given meaning by people, rather than by being objectively and externally determined (and Amaratunga, 2001; Saunders *et al.*, 2012; Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012).

4.4.2 Epistemology

Epistemology is concerned with the origin, nature, scope and limits of knowledge (Grix, 2010), it is a study of knowledge, which examines the relationships between the research and what is being researched. Positivists believe that the social world exists externally and its properties should be measured through objective measures, whereby an observer must be independent from what is being observed. That means the researchers are working with an observable social reality and looking for general laws and cause-effect relationships that exist between, events by using systematic, rational methods. Alternatively, phenomologists believe that the social world exists externally and the researcher is a part of it and can participate and interact with what is being researched. They search for explanations of human action by understanding the way in which the world is understood by individuals (Collis and Hussey, 2009). They aim to explain human actions by understanding how the world and its events are perceived by the individuals who experience them, where ‘meaning is not discovered but constructed’ (Crotty 2003).

4.4.3 Axiology

Axiology is concerned with the values of the researcher that appear during the investigation of the phenomena, and based on whether the reality is objective and 'value free', where the researcher does not impose any value judgments on the subject of research, or 'value-laden' or value-biased where value judgments are involved (Sexton, 2003; Collis and Hussey, 2009). Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2012) also suggest that in value-free or value-neutral research, the choice of what to study and how to study can be determined by objective criteria rather than by human beliefs and interests, while in value-laden research, the choice is determined by human beliefs and experience. Therefore, the positivists believe that science and the research process are value-free as the properties should be measured through reflection. They see the phenomena being researched as objective and cannot be affected by their research activities. They also attempt to explain the behaviour of the subject under research by identifying fundamental laws through observable reality. In contrast, the phenomenologists believe that the research process is value-laden, because the action of people, who interact with the environment, is affected by the interpretations that they themselves place on different situations (Saunders *et al.*, 2012).

Having the discussion of the major philosophical paradigms and their underlying assumptions -ontological, epistemological and axiological-, it is possible here to identify the appropriate methodological application in this study. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the current study examines policy process practice in Libyan, by investigating how selected policies are developed and implemented, and identifying the principal actors involved in the policy process. Hence, it deals with human actions and activities of relevant networks of actors that have different perspectives on the policy-making processes. It is fundamentally concerned with the nature of reality in the social world. Therefore, it seems to be more descriptive and

explanatory in nature. This nature makes the study unapproachable from the exterior standpoint demanded by the positivist approach. Therefore, the phenomenological paradigm was identified as an appropriate option to this study, in the sense that it allows the researcher to observe human behaviour and action as it occurs in real life (Collis and Hussey, 2009). It also helps to gain an in-depth understanding of the social context and the complexity of human interaction and activities of human actors in the policy process within the Libyan political and organisational structures over an extended period of time. The phenomenological philosophy refers to the subjective aspects of human activity and its concern is focusing on the meaning rather than the measurement of social phenomena. Hence, it is appropriate for this study since the research under investigation concerns the beliefs, realities, attitudes and experience of respondents and involves the interaction between the researcher and respondents which constructs the social phenomenon under investigation. In the context where ideas are exchanged between people, phenomenology is the most suitable philosophical paradigm in which to base a study (Collis and Hussey, 2009). In addition, the identification of the research philosophy is a crucial and principal aspect of formulating the suitable research approach and design by which the current study can be examined. Therefore, the different research approaches and their relevance to this study are discussed in the next section.

4.5 Research Approach

A research approach is defined by Ghauri *et al.* (2008:138-9) as, “*a systemic enquiry focused on the orderly collection of data for the purpose of obtaining information to find solutions to a research problem*”. Myers (1997:5) also defines research approach as, “*a strategy of inquiry which moves from the underlying philosophical assumptions to research design and the collection and analysis of data*”. Research approach is a general plan of activity,

including the collection of data and analysis in ways that assist to achieve the research aims and answer the research questions (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012). The choice of research approach, therefore, is dependent on the nature of the research problem and questions, the type and amount of knowledge available on the question, and resources for conducting the research (Williams, 2003). It is also being guided by the selection of the research paradigm, which influences the way in which the researcher collects data (Collis and Hussey, 2009).

The two major methodological approaches in literature are deductive and inductive, and the main differences between them are summarised by Saunders *et al.* 2012 and Bryman (2011), as illustrated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2:Major Differences between Deductive and Inductive Approaches

Deductive approach	Inductive approach
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Scientific principles; -Moving from theory to data; -The need to explain causal relationships between variables; -The application of controls to ensure validity of data; -The operationalisation of concepts to ensure clarity of definition; - A highly structured approach; -Research independence of what is being researched; -The necessity to select samples of sufficient size in order to generalise conclusions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Gaining an understanding of the meanings humans attach to events; -A close understanding of the research context; -The collection of qualitative data; -A more flexible structure to permit changes of research emphasis as the research progresses; -A realisation that the research is part of the research process; -Less concern with the need to generalise.

The inductive approach is used to understand a social or human problem from multiple perspectives, the deductive research, however is used when a researcher would collect data and develop a theory and hypothesis and design a research strategy to test the hypothesis as a result of data analysis (Saunders *et al.*, 2012; Yin, 2009). Having considered the key differences between the two approaches and as the researcher would not attempt to develop a theory, the inductive approach appeared as the appropriate option for the nature of the phenomena being researched. Sekaran (2009) also indicates that the selection of an

appropriate approach is crucial to the success of any research. The two key justifications for this selection are the characteristics of the research problem and the type of the research questions, and these will be detailed in the research strategy design section 4.1.1.1.

According to Saunders *et al.*, (2012) the two research approaches – deductive and inductive – are generally related to the two distinct philosophical paradigms previously discussed. The deductive approach being used by positivists, and the inductive approach being adopted by phenomenologists. Since the rationales for selection of appropriate research philosophy and approach are identified, the construction of a research strategy is a fundamental step in addressing the research questions and meeting the research aim and objectives.

4.6 Research Strategy

A research strategy is described by Saunders *et al.* (2012) as, a way by which a research question(s) would be answered in order to meet the research aim and objectives. They also suggest that the choice of research strategy is guided by the research questions and objectives, the extent of existing knowledge, the amount of time and other available resources, as well as by the research philosophical underpinnings. Yin (2009) also states that there are different research strategies used in the social sciences literature such as: experiments, surveys, histories, analysis of archival information, ethnography, feminist perspective, ground theory, and case studies. Some of them associated with the positivistic paradigm and others with the phenomenological paradigm. The cross-sectional studies, experimental studies, longitudinal studies and surveys are close to the positivist, whereas action research, case studies, ethnography, feminist perspective, ground theory, hermeneutics and participative enquiry refer to the phenomenological paradigm (Sexton, 2003; Mangan, 2004; Gill and Johnson, 2006; Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012 and Saunder *et al.*, 2012). Since

the present research inhabits within the phenomenological philosophy and is characterised by interpretivism, the main research strategy is a choice from ethnography, action research and case study.

Ethnographic Research

Ethnographic research, is characterised, as one in which the researcher uses socially acquired and shared knowledge to understand the observed patterns of human activities. It claims that all evidence is relative, and cannot be independent of the investigator (Yin, 2009). This type of research, as Collis and Hussey, (2009) suggest, is well fitting to provide researchers with rich insights into the beliefs and values of human and organisational aspects of a socio-cultural phenomenon. It requires the researcher to spend a significant amount of time in the fieldwork to fully participate in its society (Myers, 1997). The ethnographic research, as Burns (2000) notes, is better suited to understand the reasons for behaviour of the subject over extended period of time within a natural setting. It is a strategy that is used to interpret the social world of research subject.

Action Research

Action research is an approach which assumes that the social world is constantly changing, and the researcher and the research itself are part of this change. It is a form of self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve their own social practices through intervention experiments (Collis and Hussey, 2009). It is used to describe, interpret and explain events, as well as to solve a problem and make changes on the situation being researched through a cyclical process. These processes are planning, acting, observing and reflecting (McNiff, 2002).

Therefore, an action research approach is always connected to social action or, as Kemmis (1993) notes, is regarded as a concrete and practical expression of the aspiration to change the social world. It is a technique involving a higher level of researcher involvement with the intention of implementing change within the organisation undertaken (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). The action research therefore, leads the researcher to enter a situation, in order to bring about changes, and to monitor the results. This requires a close collaboration between the researcher and the participants. For this reason, Brydon-Miller and Greenwood (2006) state that action research is not conventional research because the researcher and the participants work on a voluntary partnership to form a collaborative team that determines the subject and methods of the work. They also learn and apply the methods together, analyse the outcomes, design and implement the actions arising from the process, and together determine representations of that process. Therefore, action research has been accepted as a valid type of applied research designed to find an effective way of bringing about a conscious change in a controlled environment.

Case Study

A case study is defined by Robson (2011:178) as, “*a research strategy that involves an empirical investigation of particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence*”. Likewise, Yin (2009:13) defines case study as, “*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident*”. Thus it can be noted that Yin agrees with Robson, but takes the definition further by emphasising the suitability of the case study to investigate phenomenon at the instance when the boundary between a phenomenon and the context is not clear. This statement emphasises that an important strength of case studies is the ability to undertake an investigation into a

phenomenon in its context; it is not necessary to replicate the phenomenon in a laboratory or experimental setting in order to better understand the phenomena. Thus case study is a valuable way of observing the world around us. Yin (2009) also suggests that the decision of the determination of the most suitable strategy for a particular research is dependent on:

- The type of research questions being addressed,
- The extent control of the research over behavioural events,
- The degree of focus on a contemporary event as opposed to a historical event.

Accordingly, the rational of the choice between the three different strategies is based on the nature of the investigation and the type of required information. The nature of the research as previously mentioned requires gathering information held by the policy process practitioners as a result of their continuous involvement within related Libyan organisations. Therefore, an explorative and descriptive approach is required to conduct this research. Overall, case studies, action research, and ethnographic approach are possible options to satisfy/convince conduct the research, because they can be used for exploratory and descriptive analysis, and no distinction can be made between them in terms of exploration and description.

However, action research and ethnographic research are not the most favoured options because they are highly rooted in social science and characterised by the high level of involvement of the researcher with the subject of the research. Therefore, they require the researcher to be a participant observer and to interact with the subject undertaken. The aim of this study does not require a degree of control over the event and the researcher's intervention with what is being studied, which is one of the major characteristic of the case studies. The event being examined in this study is a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, although historic information was used. Also, the type of the research questions posed in this study are framed as "*how*", "*who*", and "*what*", which lead to determine the relevant

strategy to be used (see Appendix: 4). They were translated into propositions based on various readings of the literature and the researcher's experience, in order to decide what the research design and the methods of data collection and analysis are required to support the research propositions. For that reason, the case study remains the most appropriate approach and strategy with a higher degree of suitability, and is therefore preferred in this study against the other approaches. It tends to gain in-depth insights into the topic and describe the total situation as a combination of different factors and to provide a better ability to deal with the real life situation as the main focus of the current research. Consequently, it was adopted to describe and explain how the policy process in Libya is developed and implemented in terms of the subjective meanings. It is also, to bring out detailed information from the viewpoint of the people involved in the policy process by using multiple sources of evidence. Yin (2009) also suggests that case study can be applied to explain complex causal links in real-life interventions, to describe the real-life context in which the intervention has occurred, to describe the intervention itself, and to explore those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear set of outcomes.

Case study has widely been used in varied investigations, particularly in sociological and organisational investigations, as well as across the social sciences to provide the basis for the application of ideas and extension of methods. There is also a growing confidence in the case study as a rigorous research strategy in its own right (Hartley, 2004; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). The case study design is potentially considered as a rich and valuable source of data, developing a deep understanding and providing a good basis for analysis and discussion (Yin, 2009). That means it features the richness of its detailed understanding of reality. In this context, Amaratunga and Baldry (2001) note that it is characterised as a detailed examination of an event or series of related events, which the analysts believe exhibits the operation of

some identified general theoretical principle. Therefore, the case study was adopted as the appropriate strategy to conduct this study. The main rationale of this selection is to satisfy the three principles of the interpretive method: describing, understanding and explaining (Tellis, 1997). Having the selection of the case study as the suitable strategy for this research, the next stage is the case study design.

4.6.1 Case Study Design

Remenyi *et al.* (1998) and Yin (2009) identified three specific types of case studies: exploratory, explanatory, and descriptive. According to them, the purpose of exploratory studies is to investigate little understood phenomenon, to identify vital variables and generate hypothesis for further research. In contrast, explanatory case studies may be used for doing causal investigations. It is undertaken to explain the forces causing the phenomenon, in order to identify plausible causal network shaping the phenomenon. Descriptive cases require a descriptive theory to be developed before starting the project. Stake (1995) also suggests three others: (1) intrinsic - when the researcher has an interest in the case; (2) instrumental - when the case is used to understand more than what is obvious to the observer; (3) collective - when a group of cases is studied. In all these types of case studies, there are four major choices based on a 2×2 matrix for the basic types of case study designs are illustrated in Figure 4.2 (Yin, 2009).

	Single Case Design	Multiple Case Designs
Holistic single units of analysis	Type 1	Type 3
Embedded multiple units of analysis	Type 2	Type 4

Figure 4.2: Basic Types of Case Studies Design

Source: Yin (2009: 46)

The first pair relates to the selection between single versus multiple-case studies designs and the second pair relates to the selection between ‘holistic’ versus ‘embedded’ unit of analysis. The multiple case designs are more common and are generally used to replicate findings or support theoretical generalisations. The single case design, as Yin (2009) argues, is particularly justifiable where the case represents an opportunity to study a critical case, extreme or unique case, representative or typical case, revelatory case or longitudinal case. The critical case study can be used in testing a well-formulated theory, particularly in confirming, challenging or extending the theory. The extreme or unique case study can be used to study a rare case where any single case is worth documenting and analysing. The representative case is useful in capturing the circumstances and conditions of commonplace situation. The revelatory case study can be used when the researcher can observe and study a phenomenon, which is previously inaccessible and can provide useful insights (Yin, 2009).

As this study seeks to secure rich descriptions and deep understanding of the policy process practice in Libya, which is currently ill-defined and not well-documented, due to the originality of this research and a lack of focused previous research on this subject. So, it is the first academic detailed research addressing the policy process in Libya, and intends to provide insight as to how the various policies have been developed and implemented. It is an exploratory study investigates the meaning and experience that people bring to a situation. It obviously focuses on words (rather than numbers), sequences of events, and human interaction and behaviour. This requires the researcher dive deep into real life to find answers to not only what and how happened but also why it happened. Thus, the exploratory single case design is the appropriate one to applying this study for depth analysis. Yin (2009) also argues that the great advantage of exploratory case study approach is that by focusing on a single case, the case can be intensively examined even when the research resources at the

investigator's disposal are relatively limited. Further he states that a single case study can be examined as embedded units, this occurs within a single case when attention is also given to a subunit(s), this is called an embedded case study design, which may increase the depth of the study and strengthen the internal validity.

The second pair of choice based on the unit(s) of analysis. It is a choice between holistic verses embedded case study designs. The holistic and embedded designs can occur in combination with either of single-case design and multiple-case designs. The holistic case-design examines the case as a single unit of analysis. The embedded design, on the other hand, examines the case as a multiple units of analysis, implying that the same case study involves more than one unit of analysis or a number of subunits of analysis. The unit of analysis therefore, is a critical factor in the case study design, making its definition before conducting the case study essential.

4.6.2 The Unit of Analysis

A unit of analysis, as Collis and Hussey (2009) indicate, is the focal point where the variables, phenomena and the research problem refer to and about which the data is collected. Remenyi *et al.* (1998) also state that the unit of analysis needs to be related to the way the initial research questions have been defined. They also suggest that the unit of analysis can be organisation, individual, a group of people, a process or relationships. It is typically a system of action (Sjoberg *et al.*, 1991). Therefore, the case study tends to be selective, focusing on one or two issues that are fundamental to understand the system being examined (Tellis, 1997). However, before determining the unit of analysis, it is useful to define the boundary of the case. As mentioned earlier the boundary of the present study is restricted to examine the policy process practice within the Libyan political and organisational structures. It focuses on the process through which the selected policies in different policy areas are developed and

implemented. In addition, the study aims to identify the principal activates and actors involve in the policy process. Within this boundary the main unit of analysis is the process, and the activities and actors involved in the policy process appeared as subunits within the main unit of analysis. Therefore, the case study under investigation is entirely embedded design in nature. Although, it includes multiple units of analysis –main and subunits–, each individual unit of analysis in this research consists of a whole study, in which facts are gathered from various sources and conclusions drawn on those facts within a case study. This make the single-embedded design as the most appropriate case design for the present study.

4.6.3 Triangulation

The case study is also known as a triangulated research strategy. The need for triangulation, as Stake (1995) reports, arises from the ethical need to confirm the validity of the research findings. In case study research, as Yin (2009) suggests, this could be done by using multiple sources of data, because the problem in case studies is to establish meaning rather than location. Four types of triangulation are identified: data source triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation, and methodological triangulation (Rowley, 2002; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Collis and Hussey, 2009). Sexton (2003) also adds another type called data analysis triangulation.

- The triangulation of data is where researcher collects data at different times and from different sources to understand and explain social phenomenon.
- The investigator triangulation is where different researchers independently collect data on the same situation, and then the results are compared.
- The triangulation of theories is where researcher borrows models from a discipline and using them to explain situations in another discipline.

- The methodological triangulation is where researcher uses two different methods, both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection to increase confidence in the interpretation.
- The data analysis triangulation is where the researcher uses more than one technique to analyse collected data.

Bearing in mind the potential advantages of triangulation, three types of triangulation - data triangulation, methodological triangulation and data analysis triangulation - were utilised in this study, to obtain a comprehensive understanding about the main focus of the study. The use of the these types enabled the researcher to explain the activities of how the policy process in Libya are formulated, implemented and evaluated, and identify actors involved in the policy process. They were also useful in determining characteristics of these processes, and identifying factors affecting their effectiveness in achieving stated policy objectives in appropriate way as the principal aim of this study. In terms of the data triangulation, different sources of data collection, including literature, official documents and interviews were used in the process of this research to make sure that the collected data remain the same in different contexts (see section 4.7.1).

Regarding, the methodological triangulation, the two main methods of data collection are viewed as being that the qualitative and the quantitative. The qualitative method is subjective and uses language and description, while the quantitative method is objective and relies heavily on statistics and figures (Amaratunga and Baldry, 2001). In this context, the rationale for doing qualitative research in this study, as opposed to quantitative research, has been illuminated by Silverman, (2009) that the aim of understanding a phenomenon from a variety of perspectives of the participant and its particular social and institutional context is largely lost when textual data quantified. Robson, (2011); Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that

the main feature of the qualitative research is; to allow the researcher to gain a holistic overview of the context under study; to capture data on the perceptions of local actors from the inside; and to understand key relationships and how different aspects of life are interrelated. Miller *et al.* (2004) also note that the qualitative research is a flexible and repetitive process allowing the researcher to respond to unanticipated opportunities that arise in the route of the research. Therefore, the qualitative method of data analysis used in this study, to gain an in-depth understanding of the policy process practice in Libya through which selected policies are formulated and implemented. Moreover, it is employed to explore perceptions, attitudes and experiences of key actors involving in formulating and implementing these policies. In terms of the triangulation of data analysis, the collected data was analysed by using two different techniques: matrix analysis and cognitive mapping or mapping process (see section 4.7.2.1; 4.7.2.2)

4.7 Research Techniques

The term techniques refer to the tools that are used in collecting and analysing data. Since the case study has been selected as the major strategy of this study, the research techniques will be discussed within the remit of case study research. Research techniques can be described under two sections: data collection techniques, and data analysis techniques.

4.7.1 Data Collection Techniques

Once the case study design has been selected and developed, it puts the research into the actual execution by starting to collect case study data. This is called case study conducting. Therefore, data collection is the primary activity in carrying out a case study research; it is treated as a design issue that enhances the construct validity and reliability of the research. Collis and Hussey (2009) identify two major types of data collection: primary data and secondary data. The primary data is principally collected through interviews, direct

observation, participant-observation, focus groups, and questionnaires, while the secondary data is the type of data that has been collected by others and readily available. It can be in the form of written text such as books, journals, administrative and public records, and reports as well as non-written documents such as films and television programmes (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). Its main sources are documents and documentary programmes, and often used as a supplementary sources to the primary data. However, since the case study was selected as a suitable research design for this study, Yin (2009) and Stake (1995) emphasise the significance of multiple source of evidence in the case study and identify six sources of data collection. These are: documentation, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, archival records, and physical artifacts.

Documents review is one of data collection technique in case study that assists to support evidence gathered from other sources. It is considered a useful source for data collection within a case study research approach (Yin, 2009). However, there are certain problems associated with using documents as evidence in case studies, in particular if the researcher has not had sufficient experience to recognise mistakes in some types of documents for unmitigated/mitigated truth.

The interviews are one of the most common methods of data gathering in qualitative research and valued as an essential source of evidence, not only in case studies but also within other research approaches (Punch, 2005). They have been utilised in various forms to obtain additional information from people's perceptions and their deep insights and definitions about investigated topic, as case studies deal with human affairs and these affairs should be interpreted through the knowledge of people who can provide it (King, 2004; Yin, 2009; Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012).

Direct observation is a way of collecting reliable evidence, in particular when a field visit is conducted during the case study investigation. It allows gathering data by observing behaviours, locations, dress code etc. during the case study. It is used to provide additional information about the topic being studied to enhance the research reliability in particular when multiple observers are involved in the task (Remenyi *et al.*, 1998). However, observation is a time consuming and observer biased method of data collection, even though it has been an imperative data source in case studies.

Participant observation is a unique mode of observation in which the researcher may actually participate in the events being studied. This technique could be used in studies of neighbourhoods or organisations, and frequently in anthropological studies. The main concern is the potential bias of the researcher as an active participant. While the information may not be available in any other way, the drawbacks should be carefully considered by the researcher.

The archival records is another data technique that could be useful in some studies since they include service records, organisational records, maps, charts, lists of names, survey data, and even personal records such as diaries. However, researchers must be careful in determining the origin of the records and their accuracy.

Physical artifacts could be any physical evidence that might be gathered as part of a field visit. That might include technological devices, tools, instruments, art works, notebooks, computer output, and other physical evidence. However, Yin (2009) suggests that they are not as useful for case-studies, but can provide support.

According to Yin (2009), it is important to keep in mind that all these sources of data collection are not relevant for all case studies, and each one has its strengths and weaknesses when they are used in isolation. Also, the richness of the case study evidence base can be created, only by using different sources of evidence. Whichever sources of evidence are used, Yin (2009) suggests three key principles for data collection. The first principle emphasises the importance of multiple sources of evidence in case study research. The rationale for using multiple sources of data has been described as the triangulation of evidence (see 4.6.3), which is one of the great strengths of the case studies as compared with other methods. Data triangulation is specifically used to corroborate the same data or findings gathered from other sources in order to enhance the reliability of the data and the process of gathering it.

A part from the emphasis on use of multiple evidence sources and data triangulation, Yin also highlights that, the benefits from the above six sources of evidence can be maximised, if the researcher sticks to another two principles: to create a case study database and maintain a chain of evidence. Therefore, collected data need to be organised and documented in a database. The two types of databases that might be required are the data and the report of the researcher. This may include case notes made by the researcher, case study documents that are collected during a case study, interview notes or transcripts, and analysis of the evidence. All types of relevant documents should be added to the database including tabular materials, narratives, and other notes and further outcome. The main purpose of database creation as Yin (2009) identified, is to support the repeatability of the research, and increase the transparency of the findings, as well as to provide a critical reader with opportunity to go back to the raw data when required. Further, he suggests that the chain of evidence, on the other hand, makes the case study more reliable where the case study reviewer is allowed to follow the derivation of the evidence from the research question formation to the case study

conclusions. The case study report should have citations to the case study database where the actual evidence can be found.

4.7.2 Data Collection Techniques Selected for this Study

For this study, a combination of methods was used, thereby adopting the triangulation technique with the use of multiple sources of evidence. Interviews and documentations were considered as the main sources to create the data triangulation, which may improve the accuracy of the study's conclusions by collecting different kind of data. The interviews have been widely accepted in social science research as a key tool for gathering and analysing information from selected individuals (Oppenheim, 2000). Therefore, they were adopted to collect empirical data from specific people who directly involved in the policy process. The documentary sources, on the other hand, typically include library sources, the internet and official publications. They were used to attain more adequate understanding and specific details about the subject under investigation. The researcher has also conducted a comprehensive review on literature to get a better understanding of the area of study as well as to finalise the research topic and to meet the research aim and objectives, which are identified in Chapter 1.4. A review on literature was also conducted in Chapter 2 in order to establish the study' conceptual framework by which the practise of the Libyan policy process can be examined. The three sources of data collection that have been used in this research are discussed in details in the following sections.

4.7.2.1 Literature Review

According to Gill and Johnson (2002) all research requires a critical review of literature to demonstrate awareness of the current state of knowledge on the subject, its limitations and how the proposed research aims add to what is already known. A literature review also helps

to describe a topic of interest and refines the research directions and questions. It assists to identify theories and concepts that have influenced the choice of the research topic and the methodology. Moreover, it clarifies the relationship to previous research and highlights where new research may contribute by identifying research possibilities, which have been overlooked in the literature (Gill and Johnson, 2002). In addition, the literature review, as Ridley (2008) describes, is a continuous and interconnected process of searching for literature, reading the source of material and writing the review.

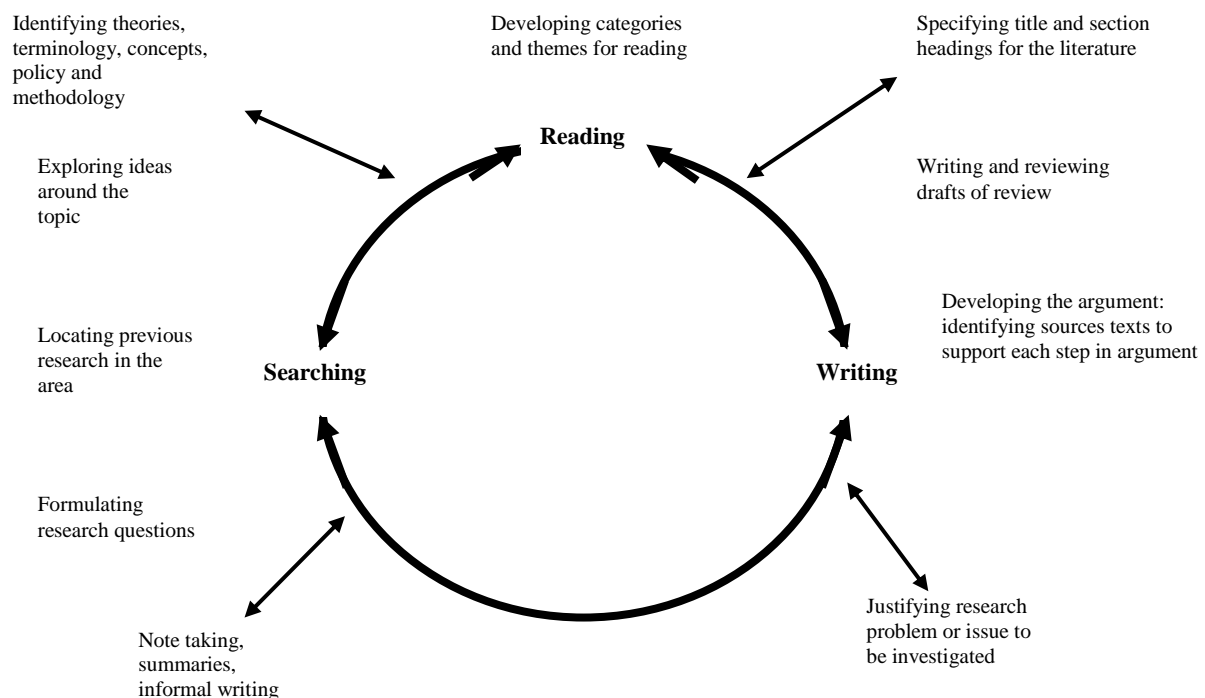


Figure 4.3: Literature Review Process

(Source: Ridley, 2008)

As shown in Figure 4.3., the literature searching, reading and writing feed into each other continually. All other activities, such as formulating research questions and justifying the research problem are influenced by the literature searching and reading, providing inspiration for the writing (Ridley, 2008).

A comprehensive and critical review to literature on public policy and policy process areas in particular has been carried out to identify the research problem and propose research questions that address the gap in previous research, which needs to be filled. The initial literature review of research journal articles, books, web sites, conference publications, and various institutional reports published by various well-known public policy study related organisations were investigated. This literature review in the subject area of policy analysis and policy process in particular aims to develop the conceptual framework by which the research problem under consideration can be examined. Yin (2009) also noted that conceptualising the phenomenon under consideration enables the researcher to illustrate the main concepts of the study, how the concepts are interrelated and the boundaries within which the concepts and interrelationships are applicable. Thus, a conceptual framework was developed in Chapter 2.7, as an important aspect of the research process. It was established to guide the researcher in determining what things are to be measured, and what relationships the study will look for. The principal literature and areas in which the conceptual framework made up are discussed in details in Chapter 2.

4.7.2.2 Documentations

Official documents were used to corroborate the evidence from other sources, as they can provide details that may support the verbal accounts of informants. However, documents are written for a reason other than research, they may not necessarily correctly reflect the situation being studied. Burgess (1991) suggests that, there are three main distinguished sources of documents: primary and secondary sources; public and private documents; and solicited and unsolicited documents. The primary sources have a direct relationship with what to be studied. They describe first-hand accounts of situations and include letters, diaries, and reports. These sources should not uncritically be accepted, and it is essential to locate them in

context where they were produced. While, the secondary sources are usually transcribed or edited from the primary sources, it should be remembered that they may include errors that the transcribing and editing processes made. The public documents typically include newsletters, books and reports published by the organisations and official documents records such as case files and staff diaries. The private documents, on the other hand, include staff diaries and written letters. The third distinction source is between the solicited and unsolicited documents. The former are produced with requests of the researchers, while the unsolicited documents are naturally produced and later taken by researchers. They usually include personal diaries and letters (Berg, 1998). Generally, documents could include letters, memoranda, agendas, study reports, administrative documents, newspaper articles or any items that could add to the database. The most important use of documents is to support evidence gathered from other sources.

In this study, a document review was used as an additional and a complementary source of data collection to gather any relevant documents relating to research focus. Therefore, official documents relating to public policy in Libya in general and the policy process practice in particular were investigated, including government documents and reports, regulations, code of legislations, periodical reports, the government policy plans and other archival materials. They were collected from different government agencies mainly the Education, the Health and the Planning Secretariats, the Central Bank of Libya, the National Planning Council (NPC) and the General People Congress (GPC). Qualitative and quantitative data have been gathered from these sources. The qualitative data have been used to describe the libyan political structures through which selected policies are developed and implemented. On the other hand, the quantitative data relating to the government policy plans have been used to demonstrate the differences between stated objectives and the actual implementation.

However, studies on the subject of the public policy process in general and in Libya are very limited, and related published data are also rarely available or easily obtainable. Indeed, the process of assembling data on public policy process in a developing country like Libya has proved a difficult challenge. Thus, it is worth mentioning that most of the secondary data used in this study have been obtained through direct contact with different sources during the two fieldwork periods in Libya.

4.7.2.3 Interviews

Interview is one of the most common and popular technique of data gathering in qualitative research, employed in various forms to obtain additional information about investigated topic in order to provide uniform information (King, 2004; Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012). It has been used as a key tool for gathering specific information from selected individuals about specific themes (Oppenheim, 2000). The interview, as Remenyi *et al.* (1998) state, is an effective way of collecting large amount of evidence and complex information about a particular subject. It is the most important and useful source of the case study information (Yin, 2009). An interview has generally been defined as, “*a conversation with a purpose*” (Morton-Williams, 1993:10). It is, “*a two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information, and focused by him on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation*” (Cohen and Manion, 1994:75). It is a conversation with rules of ordinary conversational interaction between the interviewer who assumes the role of questioner and the respondent who is placed in the role of answerer. The interviewer gives lead questions and records responses so that to understand ‘*how*’ and ‘*why*’, while, the respondent presents a sense of epistemology, which bears on the interviewers understanding of the relative validity of the information that reported with face-to-face interviewers (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004).

Consequently, interview provides a way of generating empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their life with respect to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena (King, 2004).

There are three forms of interviews that have widely been accepted within the research community: structured interviews, unstructured interviews and semi-structured interviews (Remenyi *et al.*, 1998; Yin, 2009 and Robson, 2011; Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012).

Structured interviews are based on predetermined set of questions asked to all interview respondents and the answers are recorded on a standardised schedule (Easterby-smith *et al.*, 2012). In this type of interview, the interviewers ask the same set of pre-prepared questions, in the same order, using the same words, to different interviewees and do not deviate from the format. The questions are orally asked with the advantage that there is an opportunity for the interviewer to interpret the questions, clear up misunderstandings or even gather data from those not fully literate in the designer's language (Black, 1999). Structured interviews therefore, are convenient for comparing different interviewees' answers to the same questions, and when a team of researchers is involved in conducting the interviews. Also, the responses can easily be analysed and any misunderstanding or lack of understanding can immediately be clarified during the interview (Williams, 2003).

An unstructured interview is one which has no predetermined list of questions or themes. The interviewees are allowed to freely talk about the issue in discussion and put forward their ideas related to the matter without being interrupted by the researcher (Burgess, 1991; Easterby-smith *et al.*, 2012). It provides more freedom for respondents to guide the

conversation (Hakim, 2000), thus, it is more suitable for exploring a broader subject without a pre-determined setting or guidelines.

A semi-structured interview is sometimes called a guided interview, it shares the characteristics of both structured and unstructured interviews where the questions are pre-determined but the sequence of raising them, their wording, amount of time and attention given to different topics can be changed during the interview as necessary (Robson, 2011). This type of interview has widely been used in qualitative research to achieve sufficient valuable information. It has been used as it is a good way of exploring participants' subjective meanings, where the interviewer can tailor questions to the on-going concerns and questions of the participants who can talk about things the interviewer might not have thought about, which sometimes can help the study (Flick, 1998; Yates, 2004).

However, all interview types have the problem of biasness, poor and inaccurate articulation and listening. The semi-structured interviews have also problem of being more time-consuming (Remenyi *et al.*, 1998). Therefore, they can only be used with a limited number of people and limited resources available and time. Within this context, and as the current research requires in-depth information, the semi-structured interviews were chosen as the main technique of data collection. The justification for this selection was based on certain advantages of interviews in general and the semi-structured interviews in particular, which include the following:

- It has a capacity to gain large amount of in-depth data from multiple organizations in a relatively short period of time, and immediate follow up and clarification are possible (Marshall and Rossman, 2010). This is critically important for this study, which had resource and time constraints.

- It allows the researcher to explore complexity, ambiguity, contradictions and process, which might be encountered by the interviewees.
- It gives the researcher a great opportunity to explore and discuss potential meanings of questions and answers and clarify unclear or incomplete answers (Flick, 1998; Yates, 2004).
- It allows the researcher to generate his own questions to develop interesting areas of inquiry during the interviews (Ghauri *et al.*, 2008).
- It provides insights into the previous history of the situation as well as current activities both of which are essential for this study (Yin, 2009).

For these reasons, the semi-structured interviews were perceived to be an appropriate option given to the nature, characteristics and positions of the people in the research sample, because there are different types of people who hold different perceptions, views, ideas and thoughts. These types have been adopted to provide the researcher with means for exploring actor or stakeholders' perspectives by giving full liberty to discuss opinions on the policy process practices in Libya. In addition, the semi-structured interviews can be ranged from open-ended questions and closed-ended questions depending on nature of the research to be carried out. In this research the open-ended questions were found as a flexible way to gain a better insight of the situation. It provides, as (Bell, 2010; Robson, 2011) note, more freedom and elaboration for respondents to guide the conversation, and freely express their views, opinions and ideas around specific themes. It may also help to reveal unexpected answers, which may generate new valuable ideas. It therefore enables the researcher to assimilate more in-depth information and helps him to discover information and anything unexpected, but often requires content analyse to get accurate data that can be compared and quantified. In order to facilitate the research task, interview questions were carefully prepared to cover the main themes of the study's concern including policy processes, activities and participants involved in each process.

4.7.2.3.1 Setting of the Interviews Questions

In order to collect the required information for this research, the interview guidelines questions were developed by using the research objectives, relevant literature, the researcher's own personal knowledge and experience, discussions with the researcher's supervisor and informal preliminary discussions with relevant people who have proper knowledge and experience about the research area. Tellis (1997) and Saunders *et al.*, (2012) also recommended three types of questions that may be used in semi-structured interviews: open questions for defining and describing a situation or event; probing questions for exploring significance response to the research topic and specific and closed questions for obtaining specific information or confirming a fact or opinion. Therefore, open-ended and closed-ended questions were formulated, as open-closed questions, to gain detailed information about how the policy process in Libya is developed and implemented, and the principal activities and actors involved in these processes. Prior to conduct the semi-structured interviews with the relevant people, pilot interviews were carried out with expert reviewers to test and enhance the reliability and validity of the interview questions.

4.7.2.3.2 Piloting Interviews

according to Gill and Johnson, (2002), carrying out a pilot interviews before the main study allows any potential problems with the questions to be identified and corrected . Yin (1994) also mentioned that the pilot study helps the researcher to refine data collection plans with respect to both the content of data and the procedures to be followed. Accordingly, pilot interviews were undertaken to refine the questions and procedures. A draft of the interview guidelines was discussed with the researcher's supervisory and with some PhD students and a number of academic staff of the Built Environment School at Salford University, where the researcher was studying, to enhance the

validity of the interview questions and to seek their opinions before drawing the final draft. Accordingly, the interview guidelines were revised and drafted, then reviewed by the student's supervisor. Following a detailed discussion with the supervisor on the modified draft, the final form was structured to ensure that the same key area of inquiry would be pursued with each interviewee.

In addition, the official language in Libya is Arabic and therefore, the interview guidelines needed to be translated into that language to allow the collection of data. Thus, the interview guidelines were also literally translated into Arabic using a back translation method with the help of a bilingual Arabic/English colleague. This method led to non-major change being made to the original version. The two versions of the interview questions (English and Arabic) are set out in (Appendixes: 4 and 5). The Arabic version was discussed with Libyan PhD students at Salford University who most of them were senior officials in the Libyan government agencies, and have by virtue of their position, been involved in the policy process in Libya. It was also discussed with selected policy practitioners in Libya including a number of policy planners, experts, advisors and analysts as well other professionals in different policy areas. According to their comments and suggestions the Arabic version was amended several times to make the questions clearer and fully understandable for the Libyan interviewees. Thus, the pilot study was an essential element of this research, in order to ensure that the interview questions were clear and made sense to the respondents. It was important in terms of measuring the time needed for interviews, and a valuable initial opportunity to test the validity of the research questions. It was very helpful in developing and setting the final draft of the semi-structured interviews.

4.7.2.3.3 Conducting the Interviews

Prior to conducting the semi-structured interviews, the interview approach and purpose was discussed with a number of former and current policy-makers in Libya and other professionals and policy experts, in order to identify the individuals who, in their opinion, would have sound and reliable knowledge related to the policy process. As a result, a total of 20 people from different government agencies namely, Education, Health, Housing, the NPC and the GPC were identified. These people are appropriate stakeholders in terms of their involvement in the policy process. They are different types of people who hold different perceptions, views, ideas, and thoughts about the practice of the policy process in Libya. Therefore, they were considered as a proper sample given the research nature, objectives and questions. In this context, they were selected purposively to best enable the researcher to answer the research questions and to meet the research objectives. This type of sample is called “purposive” or “*judgmental*” sampling (Saunders *et al.*, 2012: 174). The list of target interviewees was discussed with the student’s supervisor who suggested that an initial letter and case studies brief should be appended at the front of interview guidelines. Therefore, the case studies brief was prepared to explain the aim and objectives of the study and the objective of the interview as well as the confidentiality and benefits of data obtained. It was modified twice based on the supervisor’s constructive comments, and then drawn in its final shape. Student’s supported letter was also issued from the supervisor explaining the purpose of the research. The study brief and the two versions of the initial letters (English and Arabic) are set in Appendices: 1 and 2.

Prior to conducting the interviews, the study brief and the student’s supported letter were attached on the front of the interview guidelines, and then distributed to the interviewees. Sixteen face-to-face interviews in total were actually carried out with the key people who

have been involved in the policy process. They mainly include former and current Secretaries and Under-secretaries, members of the General Secretariat of the GPC, policy planners and experts, chief executives, and policy consultants and professional groups. A list of the interviewees is set out in the Appendix: 5.

The interviews were carried out twice in Libya in November 2007 and April 2008, as the researcher could not complete all intended interviews during the planned time in one visit to Libya. This happened as a result of the high responsibilities of the target interviewees and the lack of their availability. All of them took place in Tripoli on the premises of the interviewees' workplace. The interviewees chose the place and time of their interviews thus, the interview schedules were fixed. At the beginning of each interview, the researcher gave a brief introduction on the research aims and the purpose of the interview. All interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis, and they varied, but was typically between 1 and 2 hours. During interviews time, the researcher used the interview guidelines for extracting information from the respondents who were given the opportunity to elaborate on any issues they believe relevant. Thus, the interviews involved no interruptions and the respondents had sufficient time to develop their arguments and give appropriate detailed information. They devoted adequate time for the interviews and some of them were interviewed twice; in particular the policy planners and experts who were working in the NPCouncil. In addition, during the interviews, the researcher noted that most of the interviewees were friendly and interested in this subject; this characteristic encouraged them to welcome the interview in a relaxed manner, without fear of highly confidential information being misused. However, the Arabic language is the native language of all interviewees thus, they felt more confident to use it than the English language. Thus, using a local language may avoid problems of misunderstanding and help the informant to receive a vivid picture of what the researcher

wants information about, which, in turn, can improve responses. Therefore, back-translations have been provided, and literal translation technique has been used in an attempt to translate the feelings and behaviour of interviewees from one language to another. The technique of literal translation is widely used to deal with such cases, so that the translated text conveys the literal meaning of the source text. Literal translation means rendering the text “word by word” rather than the meaning of the text (Newmark, 1998). In addition, the researcher’s expertise in the field of study has facilitated the translation process to maintain that the meaning is fully preserved in the translated text.

The interview questions were typically asked to all respondents in a systematic and consistent order and the answers given were very informative and valuable. As the all interviewees did not prefer to have the interview recorded, so the answers were gathered by note-taking including the interview place and date, and the interviewees’ job titles and positions. Because of the inability to obtain a prior permission of the respondents to record the interview, the researcher spent time to pay attention to the answers given and write down everything in details including key issues. However, the researcher obtained permission from the interviewees to use the collected information and their job titles in his thesis and other publications in different academic forms. After the completion of each interview, the answers were checked with the respondent to ensure that they were accurately recorded. Each interview has been recorded in Arabic language and then literally translated into English through the use of back-translation technique. The translated interviews were transcribed and documented in a Microsoft Word 2007 document format and subsequently converted into Rich Text File format. This way allows the researcher to use direct quotations from the interviewee when presenting the findings, to increase the reliability and validity of the research.

The literature review, the semi-structured interviews and the official documents have been used in this research as the main research techniques of data collection. They have been used to collect primary and secondary data, which were useful in filling the gaps between original resources and in confirming some of findings of interviews. Therefore, they were perceived as authentic methods in providing a solid base for the conclusions drawn as well as in achieving the research objectives, and meeting the research questions. Having discussed the data collection techniques of this research, the next section focuses on the data analysis techniques that have been used in this research.

4.7.3 Data Analysis Techniques

Data analysis is described by Yin (2009:126) as, “*examining, categorising, tabulating, testing or otherwise recombining the evidence to draw empirically based conclusions*”. It means making sense of data collected, in a way that enables the researcher to present findings and draw specific conclusions at the end of the research. However, there are many techniques can be used to analyse data, and the selection of the most appropriate one should be based on the philosophical and methodological assumptions made in the research design. Easrterby-Smith *et al.*, (2012) identify six methods of analysing collected data: content analysis, grounded analysis, discourse analysis, narrative analysis, conversation analysis and argument analysis. In content analysis, the researcher identifies constructs and ideas that have been decided earlier by examining data, whereas in grounded analysis, ideas are determined from the empirical data itself, but no pre-determined codes play a role in the analysis. The last four techniques are concerned with how and why individuals’ language that has been used in specific social contexts rather than just as the mere text in an interview transcript. In accordance with the philosophical assumptions of this study, as the researcher has not intended to adopt an extreme social constructionism view, the last four techniques do not fit in

the study. Further, this study adopted a conceptual framework developed through a critical review of literature, and did not rely on grounded theory for theory development; therefore, the grounded analysis is also inappropriate to this research as this technique is closely linked with the grounded theory approach. Raudenbush and Bryk (2002) also state that content analysis and cognitive mapping are the main techniques of qualitative data analysis that have been used in academic area.

In addition, Yin (2009) notices that every case study should focus on having a general analytical strategy, as it is important to have this for data analysis. He also suggests four strategies, which can be employed to analyse data in case study research. These are identified as: rely on theoretical propositions, set up a framework on rival explanation, develop a case study description, and use both qualitative and quantitative data. As the research focus, objectives and questions have been developed through a critical review to literature by focusing on establishing theoretical and conceptual propositions, this study falls under the strategy of relying on the theoretical propositions. In addition, this study has mainly used qualitative data as one of its main strategies.

However, Saunders *et al.*, (2012) suggested that there is no standardised approach to analysis of qualitative data, and researchers can develop their own way of analysing qualitative data. Miles and Huberman (1994) also suggested that researchers can analyse their collected data by using arrays to display the data, creating displays, tabulating the frequency of events, ordering the information, and other methods. These techniques can be used in a way that would not bias the results. In order to deconstruct the data, explore the underlying meanings and to generate theory, they propose the following stages for qualitative data analysis data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification. According to them data

reduction is the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the data obtained in order to focus on emergent constructs. Data display is the process of organising, compressing and assembling the information from which conclusions may be drawn. Conclusion drawing and verification involve the researcher's interpretation of the data, extracting meaning out of the data displayed, identifying patterns and themes in order to assess their implications for the questions at hand.

In this context, the semi-structured interviews collected data have analysed by using two complementary techniques of data analysis –matrix format and mapping process–in order to identify the main themes that emerge from the responses given by the interviewees. These techniques have been used as a triangulation of data analysis. Matrix format was chosen as an ideal way of displaying and reducing data to manageable size. It was used to code and categorise the common themes, issues, topics and concepts identified from the data gathered from the interviews. Cognitive mapping or mapping process was also used as a powerful means of presenting data at aiming to build the relationships between the identified themes, issues, topics and concepts.

4.7.3.1 Matrix Format.

The matrix format has been used to manage and analyse the voluminous amounts of textual data derived from the transcribed interviews with stakeholders (Nadin and Cassell, 2004).

The analysis of the collected data was through the following process:

First step: converting all the interviews into transcripts so that being ready for analysis.

Second step: making a comprehensive reading to all interview transcripts, in order to be familiar with the text and to gain general insights about the collected data. This is

recommended by Huberman and Miles (2002) who state that prior to sifting and sorting data, the researcher must be familiar with the text to gain an overview about the gathering materials.

➤ Third step: categorising the collected data and classifying it into meaningful categories, this was done through reading and re-reading the interviews transcripts looking for similarities and differences in order to find themes and to develop categories. As recommended by Saunders *et al.* (2012), the purpose of this phase was to group each similar themes, issues and ideas under one particular title or heading using the elements of the conceptual framework developed from the literature, and the findings of the interview protocol. In this context, the interview findings or the answers to the open questions have been grouped into seven main meaningful categories: policy concepts, policy initiation, policy formulation, policy implementation, policy evaluation, policy actors and policy factors (see Appendix 6). This was done by marking the transcript and highlighting and coding paragraphs/sentences/phrases. The coding of qualitative research, as Ryan and Bernard, (2003) state, is important process as it forces the researcher to make judgments about the meanings of continuous blocks of text, which is the spirit and essence of whole text analysis (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). Thus, codes have been used in this study to analyse a huge volume of qualitative data generated from the semi-structured interviews and documentations and transferred them into meaningful conclusions.

Fourth step: unitising of data, which means attaching relevant bits or chunks of data that are referred to as units of data, to the appropriate categories (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012 and Saunders *et al.*, 2012). According to them, a unit of data could be a number of words, a sentence, a paragraph or sometimes a complete answer for a

particular question asked in the interviews that corresponded with the appropriate category. This was done by reading through the transcripts and extracting the most relevant data for all of the questions listed in the interview guidelines, and any additional questions arose during the interview. During this stage, the data were disaggregated -reduced and re-arranged- into a manageable form. The computer was used for unitising the data through “copy and paste” function to put the relevant data in the corresponding cell within the right category. McLafferty and Farley (2006) also stated that analysing data is always time-consuming and messy, thus any computer software package that can reduce the amount of time spent in this activity would be useful, to facilitate the qualitative data analysis process, but the suitability of using one of them still depends on the judgment of the researcher. However, Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that researchers do not always choose the most appropriate software package for analysing their data, but instead tend to opt for the program that they already know and understand. There is also a tendency for researchers to rely on recommendations from more experienced colleagues, or to choose what available (Russell and Gregory, 1993). In this process, Microsoft Office 2007 was employed to facilitate the presentation of the data collected and the findings obtained from the interviewees. Thus, seven main meaningful categories/themes mentioned above have been identified, and a total of 7 distinctive pieces of text have been established for each interview, and each distinctive pieces of text corresponds to one of the 7 cells that share a column, reliant on the formed/structured matrix format. The content of each cell has been highlighted in 7 different colours associated to the 7 main categories (see Appendix 7). Thus, all the useful information related to a single main category has been placed in one single block. After that the summary points from

each single block has been extracted, therefore each cell of the matrix format contains the summary points of each main category for each interviewee.

Fifth step: displaying data, which has been done by creating a matrix to represent the main themes against the interviewees? A data matrix is formed by tabulating the interview data; the interviewees were listed as 16 rows and the themes as 7 columns. The matrix contains 16 cells vertically and 7 cells horizontally. Each cell in the table connects one of the main categories identified with the interviewees, and thus, there are a total of 112 cells (Appendices: 6 and 7). Each cell in the table can be represented similarly to a matrix's coefficient, and therefore, cell AB where $A=\{1,2,3,\dots,16\}$ represents the rows and $B=\{1,2,3,\dots,7\}$ represents the columns. A long time was spent on the preparation of the matrix, and the effort had been substantial. So, it is very important to reach this stage as the researcher is able to analyse the data and explore key patterns and relationships among the data units. Saunders *et al.* (2012) also state that when the researcher has a suitable matrix designed and the data placed within each cell, the researcher is engaged in the process of analysing the qualitative data.

Sixth step: summarising data, which has been done by collecting the summary data of each main category for each interviewee together and regrouping them into seven main categories mentioned above (Appendix 8). After concluding the categorising of the summary of interviews data, the similar and dissimilar points in each category were highlighted in different colour. Then, a filtration to the similar points in each category has been made to recognise the remaining points, which identified as the summary points of the semi-structured interviews data (see Appendix 9). After finalising the summary points, the researcher continued to explore the key patterns and relationships among the data units in order to clarify the issues and themes under

investigation. Thus, the matrix format that has been used was very useful as a practical way of presenting collected data from the interviews and comparing the summary points obtained from the interviewees. Hall and Hall, (1996) also state that it is an ideal way of putting together the collected data from interviews and provides an 'at a glance' way of noting the responses and making comparisons. In addition to the matrix, which contains the main ideas, the researcher continually reviewed other sources of data during the fieldwork, such as documentation.

4.7.3.2 Cognitive Mapping

Cognitive maps are frequently used as a powerful way of presenting data. Eden (1992) also states that a map can be a powerful way for analysing the presentation of a large amount of qualitative data. Cognitive maps can also be used for a variety of different uses such as providing help with structuring messy or complex data for problem solving and strategy development, as well as enabling the recording of qualitative data in a structured manner to enhance the understanding and analysis of data. In other words, it can be used to analyse interview data and to aid in building qualitative models to show how values are structured within a particular context. Clarke and Mackkaness (2001) also state that the popularity of this technique emanates from its inherent simplicity and from the attractiveness of using visual forms of data presentation. As Jenkins and Johnson (1997) argue, cognitive maps offer a holistic picture without loss of details, and enable the researcher to move beyond the notion of developing internal consistency to a more detailed assessment of specific concepts or codes within maps. Concepts are linked in order to express the logic of an argument or reasoning by building a visual representation of concepts and perspectives surrounded an issue. Cognitive maps are also used to facilitate the analysis of disordered, difficult and interlinked issues and the factors surrounded them. They enable these issues to be structured

into a hierarchical network, and their related information to be made explicit (Rusli and Noor Azman, 2003).

Consequently, the cognitive mapping technique was used in this study to analyse the interviews findings and to identify the relationships between ideas, concepts and themes identified in the matrix format. According to Weitzman (1999), there are several particular computer programmes can be used for analysing the qualitative data analysis, among those ATLAS.ti, NUD*IST, the Ethnograph, WinMax and NVivo. These programmes allow researchers to create network displays, draw graphic representations of the relationships among concepts and analyse the relationships between the concepts. In this research the NVivo (version 9) was used to provide easy management and to display collected data in order to facilitate data analysis process. It was chosen as one of the most popular package that has been used for qualitative data analysis. DeNardo, (2002) also suggests that the NVivo has many advantages which contain variety of data source from different types. These include video, audio, images, import and code textual data; edit the text without affecting the coding; retrieve, review and recode coded data; search for combinations of words in the text or patterns; allowing quick alteration to coding, allows quick re-coding based on relationships between established coding; and more secure in the case of data backup. Silvana (2006) also indicates that NVIVO has a modeller where models can be drawn.

In addition, Bazeley (2008) identifies five principal ways in which NVivo can support analysis the qualitative data analysis are:

- Manage data – to organise and keep track of the many messy records that go into making a qualitative project;
- Manage ideas – to organise and provide rapid access to conceptual and theoretical knowledge;

- Query data – to ask simple or complex questions of the data, and NVivo retrieves the answer from its relevant database;
- Graphically model – to show cases, ideas or concepts being built from the data, and the relationships between them, and to present those ideas and conclusions in visual displays using models and matrices;

To facilitate the cognitive mapping process, the advanced features within the NVivo software were used to create the cognitive maps without the need of additional software, such as Decision Explorer. The NVivo has been verified to be an effective visualising technique for mapping the relationships between key factors or components and contexts. It was utilised in this study to efficiently manipulate qualitative interview data, and to explore them in depth by identifying, sorting and linking the categories. The latter, as Gibbs (2002) states, are the fundamental requirement, which sufficiently precise to enable different coders to arrive at the same results when the same body of data is examined. He further states that the two main crucial functions of using NVivo are storing and manipulating texts or documents, and creating codes, which known in NVivo as nodes.

Therefore, the basic maps were created in NVivo software by using its tab and associated functions. The use of the NVivo starts with transcribing of the interviews' note-taking into text format and storing them electronically as Microsoft Word documents. The latter were then imported to the NVivo to be ready for analysis. After importing the interview transcripts, the transcripts were thoroughly examined in order to identify the main ideas, concepts and themes, which are related to the research objectives. During this process, a code list was developed through the use of different colours and font styles in order to represent different components of the mapping process including the main ideas, concepts and themes. When an idea, concept and theme were identified from the transcripts, a code was assigned from the

previously prepared list of codes or assigned to a new code. This became a continuous process until no new themes were identified.

Nodes in NVivo were used as names or labels of identified concepts or ideas along with selected passages of text about collected data. Coding text at a node is the process of establishing a relationship between nodes and one or more passages of text. It is a way of labeling certain aspects of the data and sorting the information into distinctive categories. It enables researchers to use words, phrases and ideas directly from the text and explore them further in appropriate way and time (Gibbs, 2002). There are two types of nodes have been used within the NVivo for managing themes; free nodes and tree nodes. The tree nodes were used in this study. Tree nodes display the main variables in the conceptual framework as hierarchical structure, which spilt to parents nodes as main nodes/variables (policy concept, policy initiation, policy formulation, policy implementation, policy evaluation, policy actors and policy factors), and children nodes as branches. Tree nodes have been documented in working sets in NVivo. The latter allows the researcher to export the numbered nodes, thus each of these nodes was respectively exported to Window document. Through this process, the key notes coded in NVivo became concepts and produced a basic cognitive map.

Having identified the required tree nodes, the next step was to construct cognitive maps to display the relationships between the concepts of the each seven themes identified in the conceptual framework. Therefore, the basic maps were created in NVivo by using its model tab and its associated functions. This has been done by mapping the key concepts identified for each extracted theme, and then mapping them with codes within the cognitive maps, in order to support the maps. The essential components of the cognitive maps were concepts and links which were used to identify the meaning of the themes. Each concept represented one

idea and each independent theme was numbered code through using NVivo, in order to identify the relationships between these codes and themes, and sometimes in-between the themes. In addition to identifying the relationships between these codes and themes, links were used in cognitive maps. A link was represented an arrow and each arrow represented the phase 'lead to'. Therefore, different relationships were identified, and cognitive maps were constructed to illustrate these relationships as will be seen in the next chapter. Thus, NVivo has been used to analyse the flow of data in the form of ('how', 'what', 'how' and 'why' questions), to strengthen the quality of the research including the validity of the findings and the reliability of their measurement. The next section discusses the establishment of the research quality.

4.8 Establishment of the Research Quality

It is a researcher's responsibility to maintain the required quality of the research findings and of the entire research process. This raises the need for the researcher to focus on a proper framework that helps to judge the quality and the appropriateness of the methods used during a research study. In other words, it is important to establish issues such as reliability and validity of the research during a research process regardless of whatever the philosophical stand point the researcher believes (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2012). In this context, Remenyi *et al.* (1998) introduce several benchmarks to measure the quality of non-positivistic research; these include validity, reliability, generalisability, credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. More specifically, Yin (2009) presents four measures to examine the quality and validity of any case study design, and to overcome the criticisms that case study method has been faced with by the research community. These measures are constructed validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability.

4.8.1 Constructed Validity

Constructed validity is concerned with establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied; it is basically to ensure that the collected data is relevant to the research (Riege, 2003; Yin, 2009). Thus, the constructed validity was tested in this research during the data collection phase by using multiple sources of evidence. This led to the triangulation, which is considered to be a mechanism to overcome the limitation of individual research techniques, where multiple research techniques were used to corroborate findings, in other words, to establish the same fact by collecting data from different sources. As mentioned in 4.6.3., four types of triangulation have been presented: data triangulation, methodological triangulation, theory triangulation and investigator triangulation. Data triangulation was established in this research by collecting data from different sources including interviews; documents review and literature review (see 4.7.1.). Semi-structured interviews were carried out with relevant people in different policy areas. Libyan official documents were reviewed in the process of this research to make sure that the collected data remained the same in different contexts. The review of literature on the subject area of public policy analysis and policy process in particular was conducted aiming to develop the conceptual framework by which the research problem under consideration was examined (see Chapter 2.7).

4.8.2 Reliability

Reliability was also established during the data collection phase. According to Yin (2009:40), reliability means, “*demonstrating that the operations of study, such as data collection procedures can be repeated with the same results*”. Robson (2011) also emphasises that there are four threats to reliability namely; subject error, subject bias, observer error and observer bias. Subject error is different time affect the answer. Subject bias is when the interviewees

articulate something they think someone else would like to hear instead of the truth. Observer error could occur when different interviewees may have different structures of the interview. Observer bias takes place when different interviewees might have different approaches to interpreting the replies. However, the overall operation of the study has been maintained by using a case study protocol and a case study database. A case study protocol has a detailed explanation about every step followed and all materials used during the data collection. The research philosophy was clearly articulated leading to selecting single case study research design, which enabled the researcher to carry out a semi-structured interviews and documents review. The data analysis technique was described; it depended on a common research protocol and can be replicated by other researchers. A case study database was maintained by organising and documenting collected data; and the Microsoft Word was helpful in storing the semi-structured interview transcripts. For the methodological triangulation, qualitative research has been conducted to gain a holistic overview and in-depth understanding of the context under study. Therefore, the case study was carried out employing different sources and techniques of data collection including semi-structured interviews and documents reviews. Furthermore, matrix format and cognitive mapping were used for data analysis (Section 4.7.2.1. and 4.7.2.2.). In terms of theory triangulation, different perspectives and streams of literature were integrated in the literature review stage to obtain different perspectives on the same phenomenon.

4.8.3 Internal Validity

The internal validity as Yin (2009:40) notices, involves “*establishing a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions are believed to lead to other conditions, as distinct from spurious relationship*”. Here, the researcher should demonstrate that the analytical strategy and the analysis techniques were applied correctly and the theoretical propositions were appropriately

linked to data during data analysis. Therefore, through careful choice of research design, the most appropriate research approach and techniques were selected. The research questions and conceptual framework were also developed through the progressive development of the study. This provided the focus of the study and facilitated the proper direction for data collection and later the data was compared with the research questions in order to arrive at conclusions.

4.8.4 External validity

The external validity establishes the domain to which research findings can be generalised to other situations and to other people. Although, the external validity is more difficult to attain in a single-case study, Yin (2009) provided the assertion that external validity could be achieved from theoretical relationships and from these generalizations could be made. It could be achieved via the development of a formal case study protocol that provides the reliability which is required of all research. This can be achieved by selecting appropriate research design and sampling strategies. Gill and Johnson (2002) also state that generalisability is a standard aim in qualitative research, and is generally achieved by statistical procedures. It allows the researcher to feel confident about the representation of the sample and the degree of the representativeness of sample can be checked. Also, the representativeness allows the researcher to make broader conclusion about the whole population.

The choice of the single case study design comes with many restrictions when the generalisation of the results of the study is concerned (Merriam, 2009). Thus, the external validity was not tested in this study. A summary of the used tactics in establishing the research quality and validity is illustrated in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Used Tactics in Establishing the Research Quality and Validity

Test	Tactics used	Stage of the research
Constructed validity	Use multiple sources of evidence Establish chain of evidence	Data collection Data analysis
Reliability	Use case study protocol Create case study database	Data collection
Internal validity	Development of research questions Development of conceptual framework	Research design
External validity	Not used	

4.9 Ethical Concern

As Saunders *et al.* (2009) argue, ethical consideration is an important issue in doing a research, and should be taken into consideration throughout the research design. It emerges once a researcher starts to plan his/her research, seeking access to organisations and to individuals, and collecting, analysing and reporting data. According to them, “*ethics refers to the appropriateness of a researcher’s behaviour in relation to the rights of those who become the subject of his/her work, or are affected by it*” (p. 130). Neuman (2003:118) also states that, “*ethics begin and end with the researcher, and a researcher who has a personal moral code, is the strongest defence against unethical behaviour*”. Oliver, (2003) and Denscombe (2005) also emphasise that research participants should be fully informed about the research problem and all relevant aspects of the research, before they agree to take part, in order to provide valid information. Further, they state that there is a clear appreciation that if people do not understand the nature of research project, they are not really in a position to give their fully informed agreement. Therefore, prior to conducting of each interview, participants were fully informed about the research aim and objectives by providing with verbal and written information (see Appendices 1 & 3). This has been done with personal contact to identify participants and maintain a close relationship with them in order to gain their acceptance, and grant their physical accesses. Meetings were also arranged with some of them to present and discuss the researcher’s request for access. There is also a principle of anonymity and confidentiality of research participants that should be maintained by the researcher

throughout the research process (Oliver, 2003; Babbie, 2004). To maintain the participants' anonymity and confidentiality, a cover letter was enclosed with the interview guidelines explaining the purpose of the research (see Appendices 1 & 2). Accordingly, a permission was obtained from the interviewees to give their job-titles, and use the collected information in the present research and other academic publications.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and justified the research methodological design of this study in details. The research methodological framework was explained under three main headings: research philosophy, research approach and research techniques. The research philosophy, approach and techniques were selected in such a way as to address the research problem and achieve the research aims and objectives. In terms of the research philosophy, the phenomenological view was adopted, and the case study was selected as the main research design. Based on the research problem and questions, single case study was designed as an appropriate strategy for achieving the research aims and objectives. Semi-structured interviews, documentation review and literature review have been chosen for data collection process within a single case study. They have been used to achieve data triangulation, and to provide a clear explanation of how the data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The secondary data was collected from different documentary sources, while the primary data was mainly obtained by conducting semi-structured interview. Therefore, the overall data collection technique of this research based on triangulation, which was found to be more appropriate as it provides the opportunity to benefit from multiple source of evidence. Collected data was analysed using matrix format and cognitive mapping for analysis qualitative data. The tactics used in establishing the validity and reliability of the research was also explained in this Chapter. Finally, ethical concerns were described in this

chapter, to explain how the participants' anonymity and confidentiality has been maintained. The entire path of the research methodology adopted in this study is illustrated in Figure 4.4. The next chapter will discuss the case study findings and analysis.

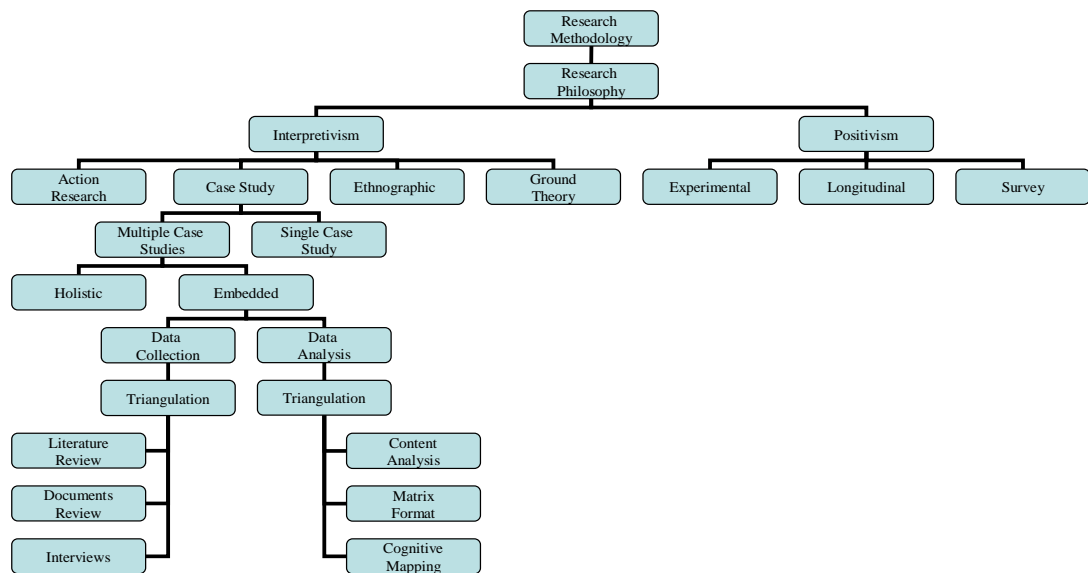


Figure 4.4: Research Methodology Design

Chapter Five

Research Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings obtained from empirical investigation carried out within the case study. The research findings described in this chapter are based on the data collection and data analysis techniques used for this study. As described in the Chapter 4, the data was generated from semi-structured interviews and analysed using matrix format and NVivo software. As demonstrated in that chapter, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with sixty stakeholders (respondents) from different government agencies and institutions involved in the policy process in Libya.

The empirical findings are presented and linked to the developed conceptual framework based on the main identified themes, including policy concept and the activities and actors involved in each stage of the policy process (initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation). The findings are first presented in matrices format and then displayed in cognitive maps in order to demonstrate differences and similarities of the participants' responses to the interview questions.

5.2 Case Study Findings

The semi-structured interviews, as mentioned in chapter four, have been conducted with key people from different policy areas and government agencies who have directly been involved in the policy process. They mainly include former and current politicians, policy planners, experts, consultants and other professional groups. As mentioned in chapter four, they are different types of people who hold different perceptions, views, ideas, opinions and thoughts about the current practices of the policy process in Libya. They are from different government agencies including the education, health and housing secretariats (ministries) as

well as from the members of the General Secretary of the GPC and the NPCouncil. As permission was given by the interviewees to use their job titles in this research, a list of these people with their job titles and positions is presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. List of Interviewees with their Job Titles and Positions

Job Title	Position	Area
Policy Professional	Head of Information Section at the NPCouncil	Planning
Policy Expert	Director of the Planning and Developing Human Resources at the NPCouncil	Planning
Financial Expert	Head of Financial Office at the NPCouncil	Planning
Policy Planer	Director of Evaluation and Continuation at the NPCouncil	Planning
Senior Policy Planer	Former Undersecretary of Planning	Planning
Senior Policy Consultant & Expert	Head of Information Centre at the National Corporation for Information and Documentation	Planning
Policy Expert	Former Director of the Gharyan's Municipal Planning Council	Planning
Politician	Member of the General Secretary of the GPC	Parliament
Politician	Higher Education Secretary	Education
Politician	Former Undersecretary of the Higher Education and Education Secretary since March 2009-2011	Education
Policy Consultant	Director of Planning at the Higher Education Secretariat	Education
Policy Professional and Expert	Head of Planning Office at the Higher Education Secretariat	Education
Politician	Undersecretary of the Education	Education
Senior Policy Planer and Expert	Head of Information Office at the Health and Environment Secretariat	Health
Politician	Undersecretary of the Health and Environment	Health
Policy Consultant	Head of Construction Dept at the Housing Secretariat	Housing

The data gathered was based on the conceptual framework developed from the literature review discussed in Chapter 2.7. This framework guided the researcher to gain appropriate information about the Libyan concept of public policy and the main activities and actors involved in the policy process in order to achieve the research aim and objectives. Therefore, the interview guideline questions (as set in Appendix 4) were principally structured to understand the Libyan concept of public policy as well as to investigate how the Libyan public policy is made through certain processes and who the primary stakeholders are involved in the policy process. They were designed to obtain detailed information about how the political structures in Libya are operating, to produce public policy, and how policy ideas and issues are identified, developed and processed into public policies through these

structures. They were also designed to gain insight into how selected policies are financed and implemented. In addition, they aimed to extract information about the government's actual implementation and achievements and how implemented policies are evaluated, and what methods and techniques have been used in the policy evaluation, in order to identify factors affecting the policy process.

The data gathered was transcribed, translated, collated, classified, configured, summarised, and analysed into meaningful categories to achieve the aim of the research questions being addressed. The summary of the collected data is represented in a matrix format (see Appendices 8, 9 and 10), in order to simplify, understand and set out differences and similarities of the informant responses, being readily accessible for the process of interpretation or analysis (Nadin and Cassell, 2004). Therefore, seven main meaningful categories have been identified, to facilitate the presentation of the findings including policy concepts, policy initiation, policy formulation, policy implementation, policy evaluation and the actors involved in each process. The findings of each category are presented in a cognitive map to provide organised and compressed assembly of information that help in identifying underlying priorities and contextual explanations (McDonald, Daniels and Harris, 2004). Each cognitive map is presented in the following sections.

5.2.1 The Libyan Policy Concept

In order to understand the perception of the Libyan policy-makers of the term public policy, this question was asked to the interviewees. "What do you understand by the term public policy?"

To understand the Libyan vision of public policy and to define its terms, it is essential to get a clear understanding of the perceptions of the various respondents from different areas,

positions and titles. Some respondents view it as a course of action, continuous government activities for achieving intended objectives, and general guides for designing policy plan. Further, it is viewed as general arrangements set by the government, and outputs of the political system. This view is particularly popular among the politicians interviewed like the Member of the General Secretariat of the GPC (MoGS), the Higher Education Secretary (HES), and the Undersecretary of the Higher Education (UHE). To add to this, another politician, the Undersecretary of the Education (UE) suggests that it is a set of interrelated decisions. A similar view is held by some senior policy planners and experts like the Former Undersecretary of Planning (FUP), the Head of Information Centre at the National Corporation for Information and Documentation (HIC), the Head of Information Office at the Health Secretariat (HIOH), who suggest that it is a series of political actions, series of authoritative actions, and a set of actions for designing policy plan. The Undersecretary of the Health (UH) as a politician and senior policy planners also sees public policy as a set of objectives translated into a policy plan. Moreover, public policy is seen by a significant number of the policy planners like the Director of the Planning and Developing Human Resources at the NPCouncil (DPDHR), the Director of Evaluation and Continuation at the NPCouncil (DEC), and the Former Director of the Gharyan's Municipal Planning Council (FDMPC), as a series of procedures for implementing decided policies, series procedures for achieving deliberate objectives, set of objectives intended to be achieved and strategies, and set of programmes and projects.

In more details, one of the senior policy planners, the FUP, defines public policy as, *“a comprehensive plan containing a statement of objectives, strategies, programmes and projects which are made by the political authority in different policy area”*. The MoGS in his definition notes that public policy is *“general procurements or arrangements of the state”*.

He further stated that, *“it is a continuous government activity monitored by the political authority”*. On the other hand, the UH and the DPDHR see public policy as, *“broad objectives which are adopted by the political authority and intended to be achieved within a limited period”*. They also note that these objectives are related to the political, economic and social affairs, in which the society can be developed in different policy areas. In addition, according to the HES, public policy is not only a course of action reflecting the government activity, further it is, *“a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political authority; as well as outputs of the political system”*. Further, he stated that the outputs are only the ends of government activity which require a long time, interrelated decisions and tortuous processes concerning particular issues.

Three different views of the Libyan concept of public policy were noted amongst the various respondents according to their positions and responsibility and involvement in the policy preparation and planning. The politicians for instance provide a more general and less technical view of the concept, and this can be largely attributed to the fact that they are principal policy makers, and deal with issues at a more general level. The senior policy planners and experts work very closely with the politicians and policy planners, and sometimes act as advisers in different policy issues in their departments and as such provide us with a similar view to the politicians, but with some details on the purpose of designing policy plan. On the other hand the policy planners and experts focus on more technical issues related with policy contents and designing policy plan. A summary of the key ideas of the respondents of the Libyan public policy concept is illustrated in Figure 5.1.

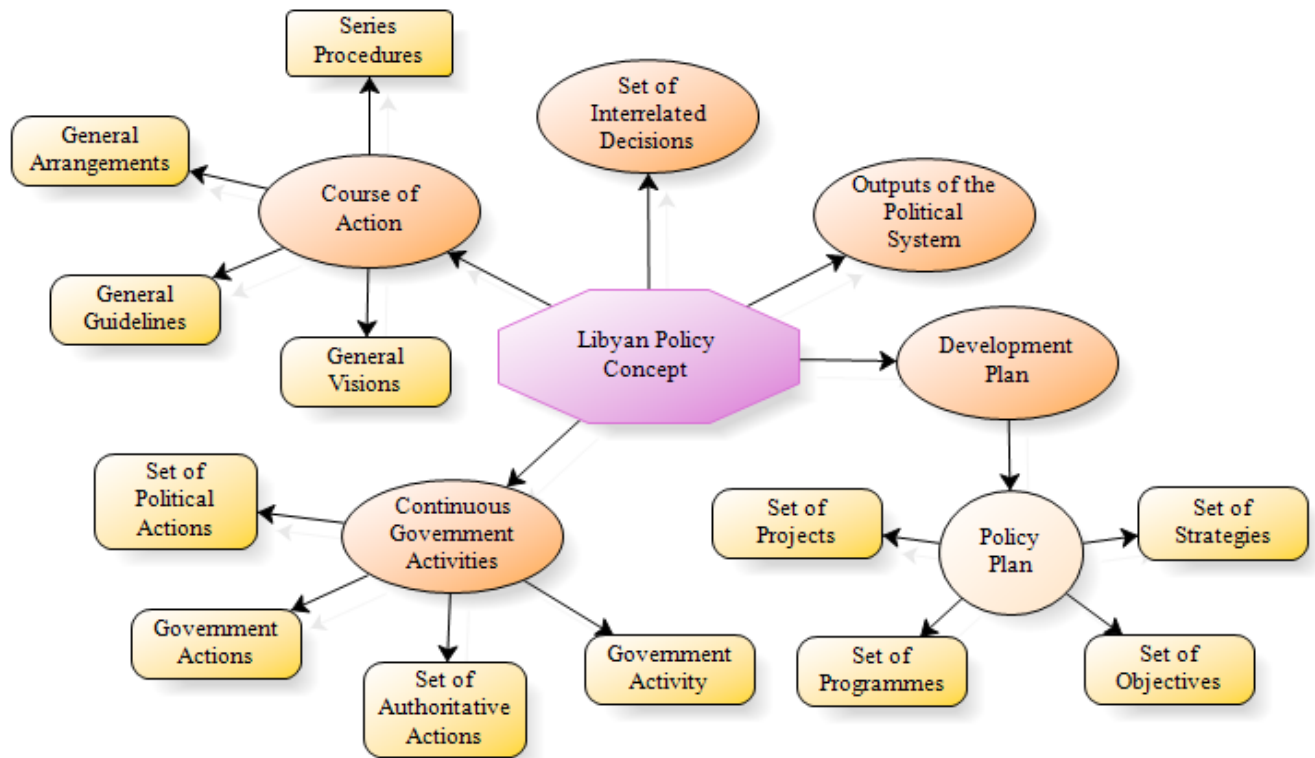


Figure 5.1: Cognitive Map on Key ideas of the Libyan Policy Concept

5.2.2 The Libyan Policy Process

Using the developed conceptual framework as a guide to collect data from the interviewees, the questions “How is public policy in Libya made, and who are the principal stakeholders involved in the policy process?” were asked to collect data about the current practice of the Libyan policy process. Responses from all interviewees indicate that public policy in Libya has been conducted through four main processes which are policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation, and each of these processes involves certain activities and actors.

According to the UHE, the HIC, and the UE, Libyan government is responsible for providing all public and social services, infrastructure and buildings for the citizens and as such it is concerned with developing its public policies through certain stages. These stages mainly

started with identifying policy issues and setting agenda, developing policy proposal and designing policy plan, converting decided plans into effect by providing necessary funding and selecting appropriate means and finally, carrying out assessments to find out how the policy objectives set in the policy plan has been achieved in appropriate ways. Other respondents, the FUP and the HIOH stated that, in response to public demands, the Libyan government usually takes actions to develop policy issues and processes them into public policies. This is done through developing plans, identifying and scrutinising the financial allocations and government expenditures among the policy objectives set out in the plan, and to relate intended objectives to the expected outputs in order to verify policy outputs. In a more elaborate response, the MoGS stated that the Libyan government makes its public policies through a set of chronological stages to translate developed policy issues and proposals into policy plan, puts selected policies into effect by allocating financial resources and then taking actions to bring the deliberate policies into existence, which have positive or negative effects on the society. Further, they stated that different actors may be involved in different processes at the same time, even in the same policy area. On the other hand, the HES and the MoGS suggested that in practice, the policy process in Libya rarely occurs in a step-by-step sequence basis, but they often overlap. They also stated that even though the policy process in Libya is rarely seen as a set of independent stages, each government action in the policy process usually involves different activities and participants. Although two different perspectives on the policy process practice in Libya have emerged from the interviews, it is useful to examine policy process in Libya from the perspective that it is broken into four main stages; initiation, formulation, implementation, and evaluation as identified in the developed conceptual framework. A cognitive map on the Libyan policy process developed based on the responses from the interview is illustrated in Figure 5.2

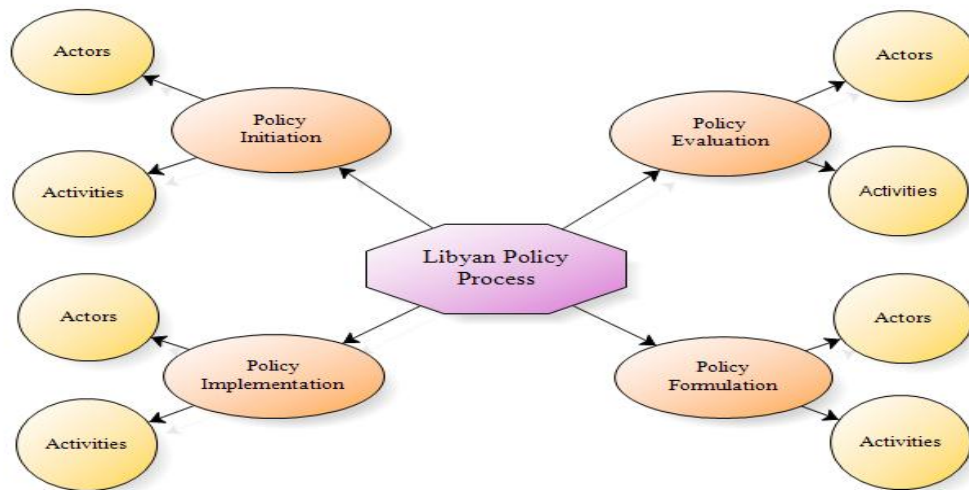


Figure 5.2: Cognitive Map on the Libyan Policy Process

5.2.2.1 Policy Initiation: Activities and Actors

To gain a clear understanding of policy initiation in Libya the interviewees were asked for their opinions on “How policy ideas and issues are identified, defined, developed and set on the public agenda”.

In general, the majority of the respondents were of the view that identifying policy ideas, developing policy issues and setting policy agenda essentially define the policy initiation process, and each of these stages involves a number of actions and people who carry out the actions. For instance, the Head of Information Section at the NPCouncil (HIS) and the FUP stated that the identification of policy ideas starts with idea generation, followed by ideas perception and recognition of expressed felt needs and desires of people and finally ideas description and definition. The latter is described by the DEC as asking for new services or improving existing services and suggesting bills ideas or amending existing acts.

The second stage of policy initiation is the development of policy issues. This stage, as the Director of Planning at the Higher Education (DPHE) noted, is to process policy ideas into

policy issues through defining, determining, addressing and expressing policy issues in order to determine general statement of imperative includes foreign and domestic issues and white bills. Other respondents, the HIC, the FDMPC and the MoGS gave detailed responses about policy agenda setting as the third stage of policy initiation. They stated that policy agenda setting begins with agenda preparation, which mainly involves issues consideration and disposition, issues reviewing and compilation, issues listing and issues classification. It is then followed by determining agenda items, which is a collection of various bills and policy issues, and finally taking authoritative action for approving agenda items. The latter, as described by the MoGS, are usually determined by the General Secretary of the GPC. He also stated in many occasions the BPCs decide ambitious objectives and unspecified and general statements of policy demands, which can be seen as general guidelines of developing issues. In this case, the GS of the GPC collects such demands, filters and classifies them then appoints a professional committee to consider and define them then submits them to the GS of the GPC as determined issues. He also stated that on some occasions, many policy issues are presented by the Basic People Congresses and the GPCCommittee ‘Cabinet’ -as the principal bodies constituting the political power in the state- which cannot simply be considered in one session due to the capacity of the policy agenda and the limitation of the state annual budget. Therefore, the General Secretary of the GPC organisationally has a right to select and schedule policy issues that should be presented for discussion in the subsequent session of the GPC. Further, he added that once their decisions are brought to the GPC, the latter in turn annually takes its majority to conclude the findings and then transfer them to the NPCouncil for developing and designing policy plans.

Typically, to carry out the series of stages discussed above, various people capable of making policy decision or influencing policy decision processes are involved. Regarding this issue, the majority of respondents stated that major actors involved in the policy initiation in Libya

include Basic People Congresses, General People Committee, Trade Unions and Syndicates, General Planning Council, General People Congress, General Secretariat of the GPC and the Leader of the Revolution. A cognitive map on the Libyan policy initiation developed based on the responses from the interview is illustrated in Figure 5.3.

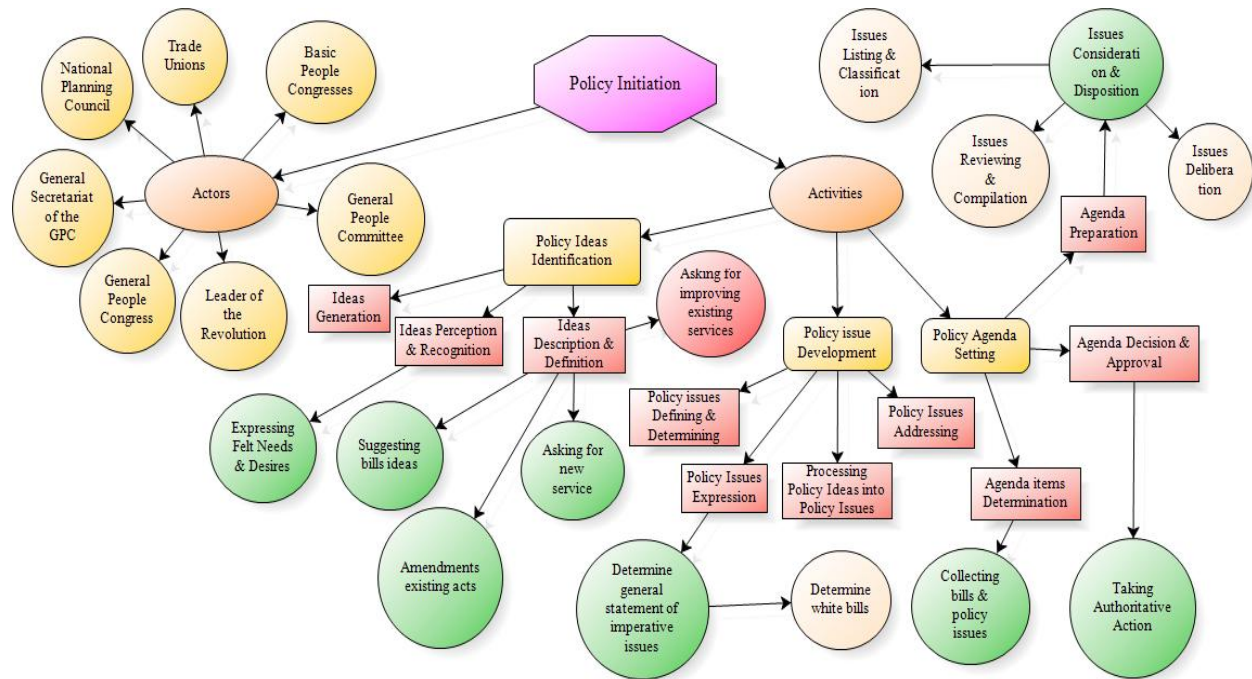


Figure 5.3: Cognitive Map on the Libyan Policy Initiation

5.2.2.2 Policy Formulation: Activities and Actors

In order to find out how public policies in Libya are formulated and the activities and actors involved in this process, the following questions were asked to the interviewees.

“How are decided issues developed into policy plan?”

“How are policy proposals defined and developed into policy plan, and who are the principal actors involved?”

“How are policy objectives and priorities selected, defined and developed into policy Plan?”

“How are the financial resources and public expenditures allocated and distributed among the policy objectives and priorities set in the policy plan?”

Most of the respondents indicate that decided issues are formulated and developed into policy plan through developing policy proposal, preparing policy proposal, formulating policy proposal and considering formulated policy plan. Proposal development, as described by the DPDHR and the DPHE, starts with collecting information about issues under consideration and analysing, filtering and validating collected information, which lead to laying down an action plan. Proposal preparation, is the second stage of policy formulation, and is described by the HIC, the HIOH and the Head of Planning Office at the Higher Education (HPOHE) as the main action of designing a policy plan, which involves surviving the existing economic and social situations and setting a detailed statement of policy objectives, programmes and priorities. As they stated, surviving the existing situation usually involves reviewing the existing policies, reviewing available funds, estimating national economic growth and considering capital investments, while setting of detailed statement as the DEC and the FUP stated involves suggesting policy strategies, defining policy objectives, programmes and projects, proposing allocations among policy objectives and finally design policy plan. As the UHE, the DPHE and the DEC stressed, proposal formulation is the extended stage of proposal preparation and the actual stage of formulating and drafting policy plan. It involves setting strategies, listing objectives, scheduling programmes and projects, allocating resources among policy objectives and programmes and finally drafting policy plan. The two politicians the HES and the UH mentioned that after drawing the final draft of the formulated policy plan, it is transferred to the GPCCommittee and the GPC for consideration and endorsement to reach the fourth and final stage of the policy formulation, where an authoritative action is taken for approving formulated policy plans.

Further, the two politicians, the UH and the UE, stressed that the Libyan government has adopted the central planning method as an appropriate means for policy preparation and

planning. As they stated, this has been traced back to the first plan of 1963-68 and after the revolution in 1969 followed by four others which have sequentially been undertaken for either three or five-year periods (1969-1972, 1973-75, 1976-80 and 1981-85) to give special emphasis to all policy areas. In addition, they pointed out that since 1985 the government altered its orientation by adopting the annual development budgets as an appropriate method for preparing its policies. This, as the UHE and MoGS stated, happened because the oil revenues started to collapse in 1981, causing the government to face some financial difficulties in completing the last development plan 1981-1985 as well as to deflate its expenditures in different policy areas. They also, stated that several development plans had been drafted (1986-90, 1991-1995, 1994-1996, 2002-2006) and only one was adopted, the three-year development programme of 1994-1996. This, as the UHE stated, was a collection of the failed programmes and projects from the previous plans. The preparation of the policy plans, as the FUP and the HIC reported, involved three appointed committees: the Coordinated Committee (CC), the Technical Committee (TC) and the Sector Plan Committees (SPC). The CC is chaired by the secretary of the policy area under consideration or by the Secretary General of the NPCouncil, and consists of other related secretaries and heads of the administrations and research centres. The TC is a specialist committee headed by the Undersecretary of the area under consideration, and comprises professionals and academics, policy experts and planners who are versed in area under consideration. The SPC is responsible for preparing policy plan of the sector; it includes senior administrators, heads of departments and administrations and other highly experience individuals in the sector.

In addition, a number of interviewees, the HIS, the DPDHR, the DEC and the HPOHE stressed that policy proposals are fundamentally developed, prepared and formulated into policy plans through the activities of the NPCouncil as a “house of expertise” since its establishment in 1998, which is a collection of policy planners, experts and consultants,

professional committees and groups and representatives of the research centre, all representing their various institutions. Further, they reported that the principal task of the NPCouncil is to develop policy proposals and design policy plans as well as to suggest technical issues that need to be addressed. It conducts studies about matters on public concern and prepares reports about them. It can also propose new bills and advise amendments of existing acts. As the DPDHR stressed the NPCouncil performs its tasks through organising seminars and calling all related people who have specialised information and knowledge about issues under consideration, to discuss and develop policy proposals. At the same time, it sets guidelines for developing policy issues from identified policy problems. The DEC also stated that the majority of considered issues seemed to be technical issues hence, they should routinely be handled by the administration as career officials having detailed information on the work in their departments. Activities and people who are involved in this process as stated by the most of the interviewees are illustrated in a cognitive map in Figure 5.4.

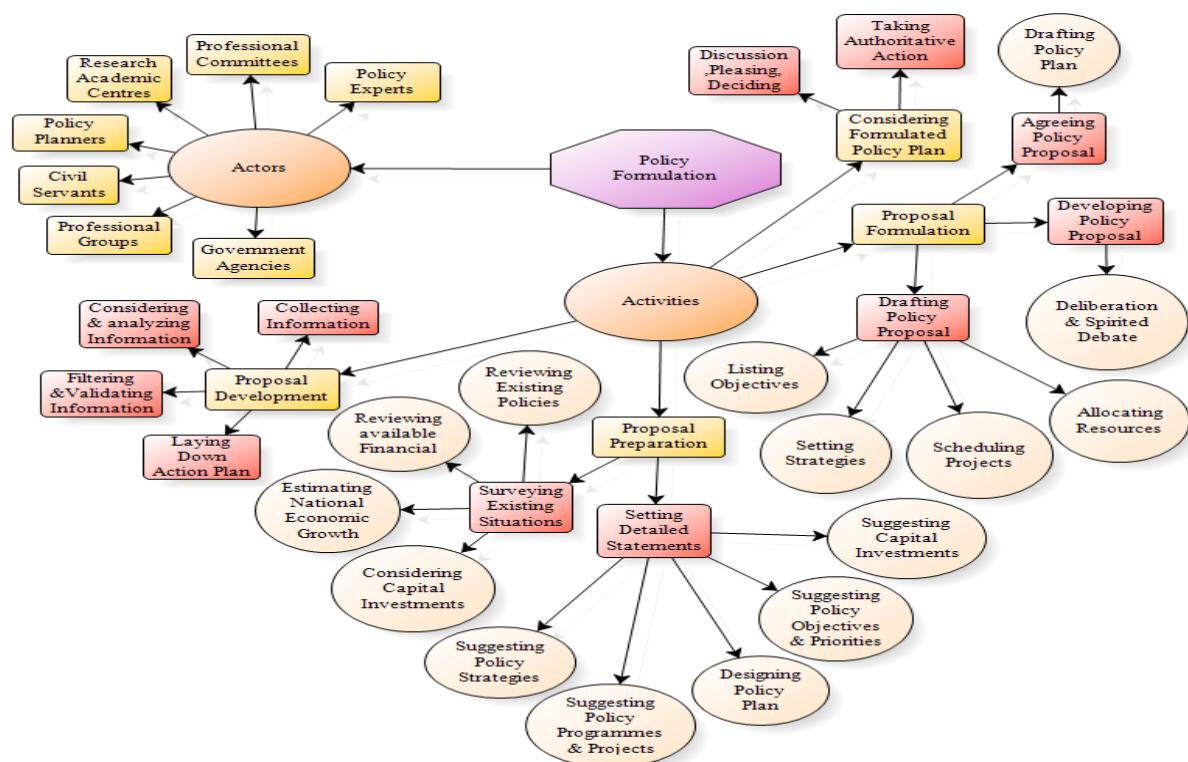


Figure 5.4: Cognitive Map on the Libyan Policy Formulation

5.2.2.3 Policy Implementation: Activities and Actors

A variety of literatures have described policy implementation as an actualisation stage at which the selected policies are put into effect by taking the preferred course of action to convert policy intentions into action. It is those actions that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions. Accordingly, the following questions were asked the interviewees to understand how the selected policies in Libya are implemented and those involved in their implementation.

“How the selected policies are put into effect”

“How the public resources are being allocated among the policy objectives and programmes in different policy areas”

“Who are the various participants involved in putting the selected policies put into effect”?

In response to these questions, the majority of the respondents agree that policy implementation is the stage of putting the decided policies into effect by taking actions that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions. The HES also stated that it is the stage of putting public demands in reality and processing decided policy into policy outputs. The UE and the UH describes policy implementation as actual actions of providing public demands in terms of public services, buildings and infrastructure. They went further to stress that the actions predominantly taken by public organisations and their members in order to attain identified goals set in prior in the policy plans. Other respondents like the DPHE, the HIOH and the HPOHE went into more details by describing the actions taken for implementing decided policies, which as they mentioned, include prioritising and programming implementing policies, identifying implementing agencies and implementers, and allocating resources among implementers. The UHE also added that during the

implementation stage of the selected policies actions were taken by government to monitor the activities of implementers.

One of the respondents, the UE stated that the prioritising and programming implementing policies are the first stage in the Libyan policy implementation process. As he described, it involves delivering public services, developing infrastructure and buildings, and importing goods and required equipment. According to other respondents, the HPOHE, the HIOH, the UH and the Head of Building and Construction at the Housing (HBCH), identifying implementing agencies and implementers is the second stage, and it involves considering all available means for achieving selected programmes and projects, selecting most appropriate means for implementing decided policies, determining the main implementer including government agencies and construction companies (local and foreign companies). The UE and the UHI also stated that the implementation of some aspects of the selected policies only requires legislative and administrative actions such as issuing new acts or establishing new government bodies, while others, in particular related to infrastructure, require international construction companies. The selection of these companies as they reported was conducted through a tender committee appointed for this purpose. The committee considered all bids and selected the satisfactory ones among them. The selection criteria and process as the UH stated are usually marred by lack of transparency, with some companies being selected based on political reasons rather than their capacity to deliver. Once, the implementers are selected, The allocation of resources among implementers as the third stage in policy implementation involves, as the Head of Financial Office at the NPCouncil (HFO) specified, allocating necessary fund provided by Public Treasury among policy programmes set in policy plan. The allocated funds, as the HFO and the DPHE stressed, in some occasions, were not

liquidated in the proper time, and this caused delay in the implementation of many selected policies.

Once the necessary funds have been allocated and the policies are being implemented, the government monitors the activities of the implementers. In this stage, according to the DEC, the DPHE, the HIOH and the HBCH, the government achieves this by following-up implementing policies through reviewing implementation ratios, considering the efficiency of using national resources and considering the effectiveness of the implemented policies. Furthermore, the HES, the UH, the UE stressed that the government agencies and operating staff play the main role in policy implementation, and also pointed out that local and foreign construction companies contributed significantly to the implementation process. A cognitive map on the activities and actors involve in the Libyan policy implementation is illustrated in Figure 5.5.

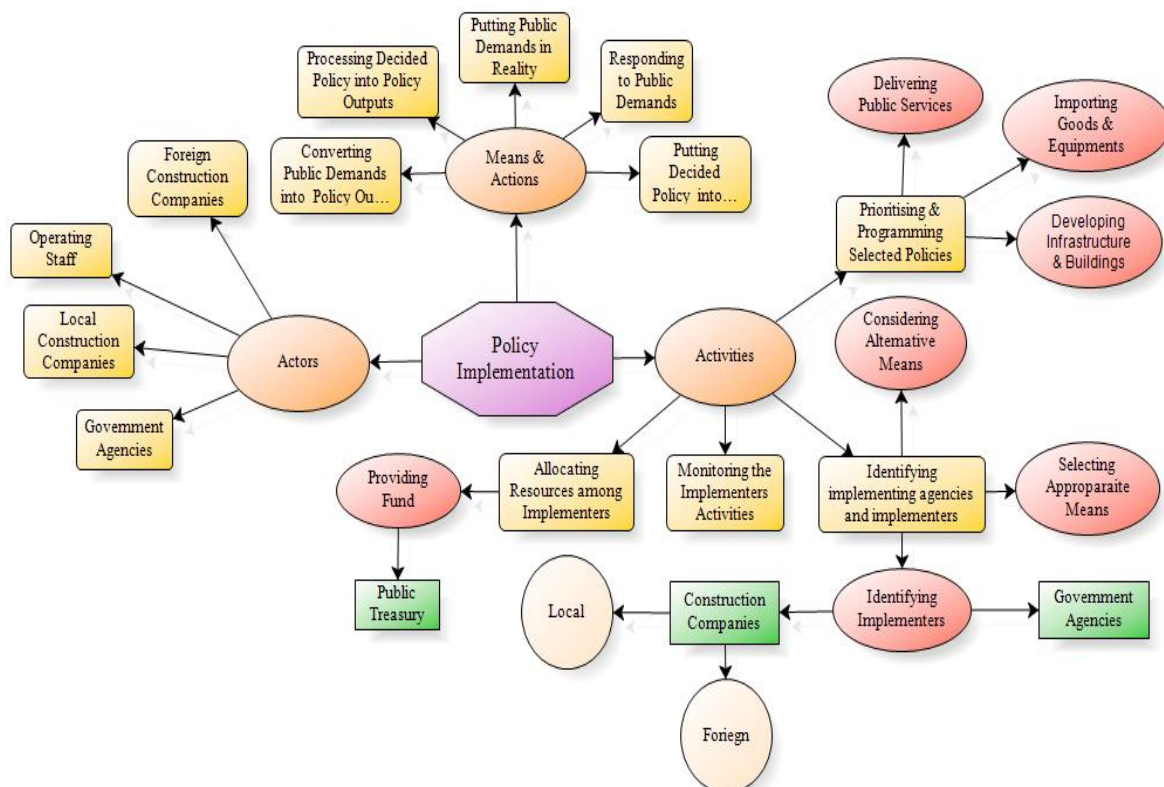


Figure 5.5: Cognitive Map on the Libyan Policy Implementation

Although, the selected policies have been implemented and involved certain activities and actors mentioned above, the DPHE, the UH and the HBCH emphasised that the implemented policies in Libya have experienced some defects; one of them is the re-allocation of the decided investments of development plans. These investments, in some cases, are reduced when the plan is put into effect, and the financial allocations of plan items are re-allocated. The plan contents and objectives are also reconsidered. The DPHE also said that this leads to some policy programmes and projects being cut back with great effects on policy implications, differing from the intended objectives defined at the formulation stage. Such programmes and projects are carried forward in a subsequent plan and given priority in their implementation.

5.2.2.4 Policy Evaluation: Activities and Actors

As described in the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2, policy evaluation is the final stage in the policy process. It is concerned with what happens during and after the implementation of selected policies. It is therefore concerned with the assessment of a policy, including measuring its impacts on a society in order to identify the interim effects and results of policy programme. The assessment is usually carried out to feed relevant information back into the initiation and formulation processes, which assists in generating new policy proposals or refining and improving an existing policy. Policy evaluation therefore, considers the success and failure of a policy in order to help policy-makers to decide whether to continue with, rectify, or discard the selected policy. In order to understand how the implemented policies in Libya are evaluated and the activities and actors involved in this process, the following questions were asked to the interviewees.

“Have the public policies in Libya, satisfactorily achieved their objectives as set out in the action plan? If not, why?”

“How public policies in Libya are evaluated, and what are the specific methods and techniques have been used in the policy evaluation”.

“Who the key actors are involved in this activity”

Most implemented policies in Libya as described by the majority of the respondents have experienced certain failures, particularly between what the Libyan governments intend to achieve and the actual attainments. The DPDHR also stated that the Libyan governments as a responsible body for implementing selected policies often manipulates effectively their intended objectives, but at the end it found their outputs fail to have satisfactory effects on society. This as the FUP and the HIC stated was evidently apparent, when the three-year development programme was prepared and approved for the period 1994-96 to include failed programmes and projects from the previous plans (1973-75, 1976-80, and 1981-85) and aimed to achieve their aggregate objectives.

Policy failures as the HIOH, the DEC, and the MoGS and the HES pointed out were recognised after the selected policies have been put in effect for enough time. They also stated that once the failures were recognised, the government agencies as executive bodies, and people they worked with started to act in order to detect the gap that may occur between the promulgated objectives and realised goals, and to learn about the consequences of a policy. As they stressed, this can be done by gathering information about the implemented policy programmes and projects in different policy areas to check whether the policy has achieved its goals or not, and whether it made effects on the society or not. This as the UE stated, should be the job of the evaluators who should measure the impact of the implemented policies and the actual changes occurring in the society as a result of policy intervention, and not just what the government actually delivered in terms of benefits or services to satisfy public demands. But the majority of the respondents stated that the implemented policies in

Libya have only been reviewed in terms of the actual achievements of the government. This has been done as the DPDHR and the UE stated by collecting information about particular programmes carried out by the government agencies. However, the HES and the UE stated that the proper evaluation should be conducted through the selection of appropriate methods and skilled people as evaluators to specify how the results obtained from the evaluation can be utilised in terms of feedback operation. The latter, as they stressed, can provide different patterns of policy-learning, which may aid governments to terminate their policies and develop new ones or refine and improve the existing policies.

In response to the question of how the evaluation has been carried out in Libya and of the specific methods and techniques that have been used in the policy evaluation, the HIOH, the DEC, the DPHE and the HBCH reported that as a result of the unsatisfactory results of the implemented policies, a little internal evaluation was carried out by the government agencies to identify the failures and monitor the achieved results. This as they stated would provide feedback information, which may help to consider the performance of the government agencies as the main implementer of the selected policies. On the other hand, the FUP and the UHE said that although there was a little internal evaluation had been done, a total absence of effective evaluation to the implemented policies can obviously be observed in Libya. This, as they stated, was due to the absence of and specialised government body for policy evaluation and analysis as well as the absence of skilled policy analysts and evaluators. The HIOH, the DEC, the DPHE and the HBCH reported that three different methods have been used in the evaluation of the implemented policies. These were basically conducting site visits to field work, measuring implemented programmes and preparing periodical reports about the actual achievements ratios of the government. The sites visits, as the UHE, the UE and the UH stated, were occasionally carried out to selected schemes by teams of senior administrators

from the same implementing government agencies, and very often produce reports that are exaggerated and not true reflections of their achievements. The site visits, as the MoGS said, have also been conducted by teams from the People's Office for Monitoring and Controlling (POMC), which constituted staff with knowledge and experience in the deliverables such as construction, contracts and legal aspects and other related issues of the implemented policies. He added that this office was established to follow up the government agencies and all policy implementers and prepare reports on their performance in implementing decided policies. The reports of this office as the MoGS and the DEC pointed out are usually more transparent than those produced by the government agencies themselves. According the MoGS, site visits were also conducted by a group of experts appointed by the GPCCommittee to conduct inspections in the field and pick up impressionistic data about the government achievements. The group also reviews the expenditures reported by each sector and comparing with the actual achievements observed from site visits.

The periodical reports were commonly prepared by the operating staff and government agencies to give testimony on the achievement ratio of their own policies. These reports, according to UHE, the UH and the UE, are formally written by senior officers and heads of continuation and evaluation departments at all secretariats as well as selected committees at the NPCouncil and the Planning Secretariat. These people are career officials who are officially responsible for measuring the achievement of the implemented policies of their own activity and policy area. The periodical reports as the DEC and the DPHE, the HIOH and UE informed typically presented statistical information about the government achievements in terms of numbers and percentages by using professional standards developed by international organisations. They contain number of schools, hospitals, public employees, policy officers, houses as well as number of students and pupils per class and teachers, number of beds,

doctors, nurses per patients, etc. The statistic information as the UE pointed out, do not indicate what the real impact of these numbers are on the society, in other words, they do not show if the effects of policy or programme are felt by the target people or groups. They only showed the outputs of the implemented policies as the final products of government activity. In addition, the DEC stated that little official evaluation has been carried out because of the total absence of a professional body for policy analysis and evaluation, and a lack of policy analysts and specialised skills for good evaluation. This situation, as he said, led to a lack of feedback information and a bad state of feedback operation. However, the FUP mentioned that in one occasion policy experts and advisors from the UN were consulted in evaluation of the housing policy during the period “1969-1990”, but there are no published materials related to this issue. The activities and actors involved in the Libyan policy evaluation are illustrated in Figure 5.6.

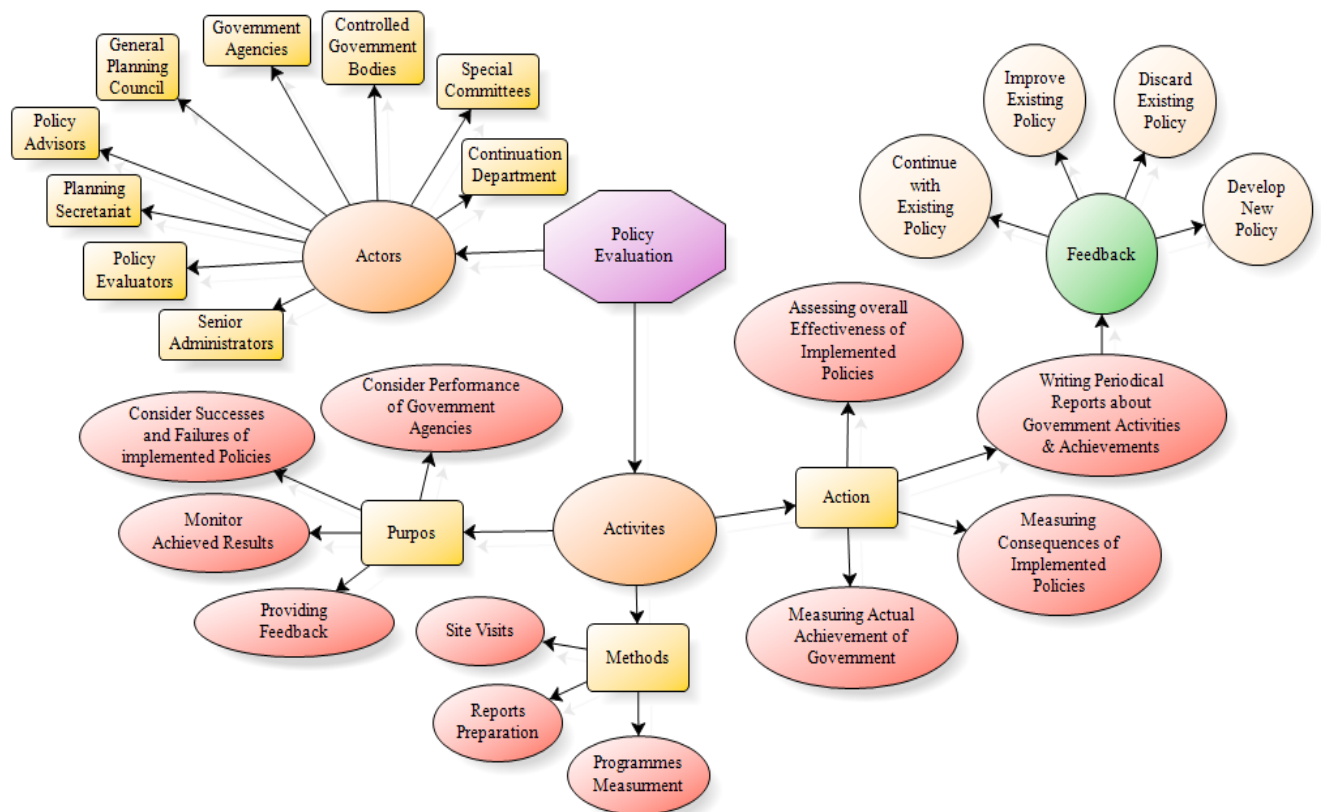


Figure 5.6: Cognitive Map on the Libyan Policy Evaluation

The UE, the FUP and the UH and the UHE stated that some policies had not been implemented appropriately and the evaluation reports showed that this was due to the inefficiency in the allocation of resources and the ineffectiveness of the implementing agencies. Other respondents, the DEC, the DPHE, the FDMPC, the UH and the MoGS, stated that this has taken place due to deciding overestimating policies. This happened as they explained, because the BPCs in many occasions do not know the technical and financial capacity of the government, therefore they decided policies to be implemented that were over the capacity of the government. In addition, the UH also added that improper implementation has taken place due to inefficiency of using available resources, and selecting inappropriate means for implementing selected policies. This, he explains, is as result of the poor process for selecting the implementing companies; some of these companies were imposed by a higher authority, and some others employed unethical means to secure a place as one of the implementers. The HBCH and the DPDHR also reported that the constant changes in the administrative structures and government agencies, led to a waste of time and resources without achieving targets. As they stated, some secretariats have been changed several times, either by mergers with other secretariats, or by complete abolition. Furthermore, the HFO pointed out that, the complexity of the financial controlling system and the administrative procedures have caused greater delay in the liquidation and disbursement of allocated funds. This frustrates most of the implementing companies, forcing them to pull out of the projects. These have caused many selected programmes to be done outside the planned timeframe, or to be eventually cancelled. They further iterated that some existing legislations preventing the development of certain areas of interest either because of historical, industrial, agriculture, environmental reasons, or to discourage over population of such area in particular in the capital, and to encourage the development of other regions. The insufficiency of the national

urban planning system has also resulted in the unavailability of the construction lands. All these have affected the implementation of the selected policies in a negative way.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has principally presented the findings of the semi-structured interviews. The interviews have been conducted with relevant people involved in the policy process from different government agencies and policy areas. The strategy used in this research provided valuable in-depth information about the Libyan concept of public policy and the current practice of the policy process in Libya and the related factors that may affect the policy process. Policy initiation formulation, implementation and evaluation were identified as the main process through which the Libyan government produced its public policies. Activities and actors involved in each process have been described in this chapter, and supported with a display of cognitive maps. The identification of policy ideas, development of policy issues and setting of policy agenda were essentially identified as key in policy initiation. Following the initiation stage is the formulation stage during which decided issues are developed and formulated into a policy plan. The latter was designed through the development, preparation and formulation of policy proposal, which were then considered and approved and made into selected policies for implementation by taking authoritative action. The central planning method was identified as the means adopted by the Libyan government for formulating its public policies. Selected policies are then put into effect by taking actions to bring intended policy outputs into existence at the implementation stage. Such actions include prioritising and programming implementing policies, identifying implementing agencies and implementers, allocating resources among implementers and finally monitoring the activities of implementers. Implemented policies are assessed in the final stage of the policy process; the evaluation stage. The assessment usually is carried out to measure the success and failure

of implemented policies in order to provide feedback into the initiation and formulation processes, and help policy-makers to decide whether to continue with, rectify, or discard the selected policy. Site visits to field work, measuring implemented programmes and preparing periodical reports about the actual achievements ratios of the government were used in the evaluation of the implemented policies in Libya. These methods proved to be inefficient as they did not provide the necessary feedback information required. They also suffered from lack of specialised bodies and skilled people for policy evaluation and analysis.

Each identified stage of the policy process involved a number of people who carried out the actions, some of which were involved in more than one stage of the policy process. In general, the following actors were found to be involved in the policy process: the Basic People Congresses, the General People Committee, the Trade Unions, the General People Congress, the General Secretariat of the GPC, the Leader of the Revolution, the Government Agencies, the Civil Servants, the Policy Planners and Experts, the Professional Committees, the Professional Groups, the Research and Academic Centres, the Local Construction Companies, the Foreign Construction Companies, the Continuation and Evaluation Departments, the General Planning Council, the Planning Secretariat and the Policy Advisors. The next chapter will present a comparative discussion of the research findings and implications.

Chapter Six

An Examination of the Public Policy Process in Libya

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the outcomes of data analysis and proposes answers to the research questions within the analysis strategy considered in Chapter four. The outcomes were generated from different sources of evidence, all of which were used to achieve the research aim and objectives. The main source of evidence was semi-structured interviews carried out within the case study undertake, supplemented by documents and literature review for the purpose of triangulation. The corresponding findings in the case study and their implications are discussed within the developed conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2. The discussion is extended to the aim and objectives of this research to examine whether or not they have been achieved. This will give an opportunity to discuss any issues that may emerge from the case study findings and that were not predicted.

Therefore, this chapter examines the practice of the policy process in Libya and compare it with the policy process as defined in the developed conceptual framework. It investigates how the selected policies are developed and implemented through certain processes, and identifies the principal stakeholders involved in these processes. Policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation are examined, to find out how the Libyan government takes actions to generate, define and process policy ideas and issues into public policy, and to relate intended objectives to the expected outputs. It also identifies and scrutinises the financial allocations and government expenditures among the policy objectives set out in the action plan to verify policy outputs. This will help to explore characteristics of the Libyan policy processes and identify the main factors affecting these processes in achieving policy objectives set prior in policy plan in appropriate way.

6.2 The Libyan Public Policy Concept

As discussed in Chapter 5.2.1., public policy in Libya has been defined by Libyan policy-makers and planners as, a comprehensive development plan containing a statement of strategies, objectives, programmes and projects in different policy areas. Further, it is a set of general guidelines and continuous government activity monitored by the people who hold the political authority. The respondents also indicated that it is a set of broad objectives adopted by the government and intended to be achieved within a definite period of time, in order to develop the economic and social situations in the society. It is also defined as a course of action and a set of interrelated decisions taken by the political authority, as well as the outputs of the political actions. But, these outputs are only the end results of government activity which require a long time, interrelated decisions and tortuous processes concerning particular issues. Thus, it can be noted that these respondents agree that the Libyan concept of public policy is seen, as governmental activities which intend to achieve particular objectives adopted by the political authority. Public policy from this perspective is almost the same as that expressed in the literature and mainly demonstrated through the preparation of comprehensive and annual policy plans which contain public policies of the state.

Libya prior to the oil discovery and production in 1961 was characterised, as Allan (1981) and Simons (1996) described, by declining national income, a lack of government expenditure and limited government activities in all areas. It did not have any significant resources or appropriate income to finance any development programmes and plans. The government was mainly dependent on foreign assistances, particularly from the USA and the UK, as rent for their military bases in Libya. As shown in Table 6.1, these assistances have not increased and stay the same since the start of oil production and exportation in 1960. Since then, the Libyan government has dramatically extended its activities in different policy

areas including education, health and housing. The government has also allocated 70% of oil revenues to development purposes, and adopted the central planning method for policy planning and preparation. Accordingly, the first five-year development plan for 1963 – 1968 was launched and approved. The plan, as Bearman (1986) notes, aimed to provide all public services that had been missing before the start of the oil industry. As he argued, although this plan achieved success in increasing the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by about 14%, it could not completely develop all social services, particularly in education, health and housing, because of financial constraints. These services remained limited to the main cities, and the illiteracy rate continued to maintain a high percentage. Differences in the living standards among people, particularly between the rural and urban areas also existed. These were taken into account by the new government of the revolution of 1969 and clarified in the Libyan political vision since the early period of the revolution (Attir and Alzzabi, 2002).

Table 6.1: Contribution of the Foreign Assistances to the Government Expenditures 1954-62 (in million)

Year	1954/5	1955/6	1956/7	1957/8	1958/9	1959/60	1960/1	1961/2	1962/3
Expenditure	7.897	12.978	15.433	17.031	19.179	20.600	28.300	34.500	44.400
Domestic Revenue	5.549	7.061	8.147	9.595	10.269	11.542	15.353	18.882	24.430
Foreign assistances	5.641	6.270	9.979	10.845	6.683	6.821	6.821	6.821	6.821
Total Revenue	11.190	13.331	18.126	20.440	16.952	18.363	22.356	25.703	31.251
Surplus or Deficit	+3.293	+0.353	+3,207	+3.409	-2.227	-2.237	-5.944	-8.797	-13.149
Source: International Bank Reconstruction and Development of Libya, 1960; Allan, 1981.									

The government adopted new economic orientations to reform the national economic framework based on socialist ideas, which served as a guide for preparing and implementing its public policies. As stated in the Provisional Constitutional Proclamation of 1969, the principles of these ideas are: first, adopting central planning as a method for preparing public policies of the state; and second, giving the public sector an extensive role in financing and implementing these policies (see Chapter 3.6.1). Accordingly, the government essentially aimed to realise its vision through the application of social justice, by achieving self-

sufficiency in production, and equity in income distribution particularly between the rural and urban areas. It also intended to accomplish political and social stability and improve living standards among people in society (Ministry of Planning, 1973). These aims were demonstrated in a range of sequential development plans 1969-72, 1973-1975, 1976-80 and 1981-85, which were adopted as a method for policy preparation and planning (see Chapter 5.2.2.2). Accordingly, the government emphasized the achievement of those aims by extending the activity of the public sector and improving its services. For instance, education – a service which needs labour-intensive, technological equipment, professional and qualified staff – was developed and expanded by establishing schools, colleges and universities, as well as public institutions to control and manage them. The development of the educational system has been spread over a very long period to meet group and individual satisfaction. But sometimes, targets were more tangible, such as completions of housing projects, and improvement of the health services. These services, as the Member of the General Secretary of the GPC described during the interview, were non-existent for a long period of time as a result of the deprivation years before the development of the oil industry, thus, they should be provided as compensatory services.

The adoption of the development plan as an appropriate method for policy planning and preparation continued until the middle of the 1980s, when the government started to produce its selected policies in the shape of an annual policy plan. The reasons behind this action, as revealed in Chapter 5.2.2.2, were the sharp collapse of oil prices in 1980 and the foreign sanctions that were imposed on Libya by the USA in 1980 and the UN in 1992, which lasted until 2003. The foreign sanctions caused a reduction in the oil production rate in Libya and increased the oil production cost, because most of the oil exportation, exploitation and production companies were American, and the techniques and equipment of the oil industry

were from the USA. Financial losses due to the UN sanctions were estimated in 1995 at LD34 billion, (United Nation, 2000). The sharp collapse, on the other hand, caused a gross reduction in oil revenues, and negatively affected the Libyan economy in general. This situation led the government to largely cut down its expenditures and investments in different policy areas, in particular the proposed allocations of the last plan 1981-85 that had not completely been implemented, because the government was unable to continue financing the existing and new long-term plans. However, several development plans were drafted (1986-90, 1991-95, 1994-96, 2002-06 and 2006-10) and only one was decided, the 1994-1996 three-year development plan, which is a collection of the failed programmes and projects from the previous plans (1973-75, 1976-80, and 1981-85) and aimed to achieve their aggregate objectives. Unfortunately, more than 75% of the plan's approved allocation was not provided. The plan was approved with LD 6216.1million, but during the implementation, this amount was reduced to LD2400m and later reduced again to LD 2100m. However, the actual expenditures by the end of the plan were LD 1495.2m, which is about 24% of the original approved allocations (Libya's Human Development Report, 2002). Figure 6.1 and Table 6.2 show changes in oil revenues before and during the sanctions.

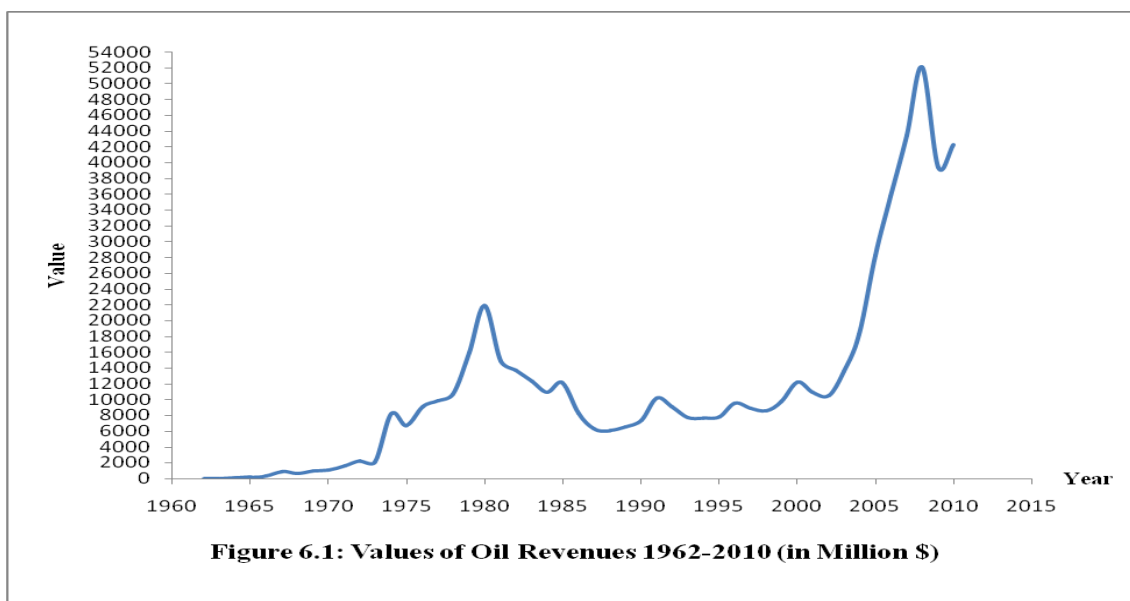


Table 6.2: Values of the Oil Revenues 1962-2010 (in Million \$)

Year	(GDP)	Oil Revenues	Non-Oil Revenues
1962	86.7	6.7	80.0
1963	121.0	24.2	96.8
1964	212.9	80.0	132.9
1965	289.1	183.1	106.0
1966	423.4	280.2	143.2
1967	1080.9	907.5	173.4
1968	838.4	641.8	196.6
1969	1205.9	933.4	272.5
1970	1492.1	1089.3	402.8
1971	1853.2	1574.9	278.3
1972	2840.1	2222.9	619.9
1973	2459.8	2098.6	361.2
1974	8619.2	8214.8	404.4
1975	6999.2	6723.3	275.9
1976	10989.4	9141.5	1827.9
1977	16982.7	9850.4	7132.3
1978	18533.4	10749.3	7784.1
1979	26502.0	15941.0	10561.0
1980	36756.0	21910.0	14846.0
1981	31755.0	14930.0	16825.0
1982	31659.0	13692.0	17967.0
1983	30170.0	12314.0	17856.0
1984	28252.0	10970.0	17282.0
1985	27787.0	12132.0	15655.0
1986	24089.0	8202.0	15887.0
1987	21215.0	6293.0	14922.0
1988	23778.0	6070.0	17708.0
1989	25168.0	6573.0	18595.0
1990	28415.0	7416.3	20771.7
1991	31681.0	10211.0	21470.0
1992	32581.0	9105.0	23458.0
1993	30012.0	7689.0	22323.0
1994	29523.0	7617.0	21906.0
1995	29572.0	7763.0	21809.0
1996	33029.0	9543.0	23486.0
1997	34819.0	8905.0	25914.0
1998	41116.0	8600.2	32515.3
1999	44660.0	9692.5	34973.5
2000	34612.0	12230.0	22382.0
2001	30068.0	10875.0	19193.0
2002	20409.0	10482.0	9927.0
2003	24652.0	13567.0	11085.0
2004	31799.0	18300.0	13499.0
2005	42844.0	28300.0	14544.0
2006	55977.0	35700.0	20277.0
2007	69869.0	43400.0	26469.0
2008	76732.0	52084.0	24648.0
2009	63769.0	39377.0	24392.0
2010	67470.0	42233.0	17402.0

Source: Compiled by the author using various Annual Statistical Reports of the OPEC, the OAPEC, the International Bank, the Libyan Central Bank and other Official Documents.

6.3 The Practice of the Libyan Policy Process

As mentioned earlier, the Libyan public policy concept has been defined as, a course of action and a set of interrelated decisions taken by the political authority. It is also the government activities and outputs of the political actions, which require a set of sequential processes concerning particular issues. The latter, as has been described in Chapter 2.4., have been defined, developed and processed into public policies through certain of identifiable processes including policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation. Each process involves a number of identifiable stages and various activities and actors. In terms of process, the empirical study results described in the previous chapter show that the practice of the Libyan policy process shows that the stages rarely occur on a step-by-step sequence basis; they often overlap, and different actors may be involved in different processes at the same time, even in the same policy area. Despite this fact, it is helpful for analytical purposes to break the process down into component units in order to better understand how policy ideas and issues become proposals and then developed into policy plans, and how selected policies are implemented to produce policy outputs as the final results of the government activity or the political actions.

According to the interview results described in Chapter 5.2.2., the policy process are mainly practised through: (a) the policy initiation which includes (1) the identification of policy problems and issues through demands for government action (2) the agenda setting by focusing on specific issues to decide what should be decided; (b) The formulation of policy proposals and designing policy plan by policy planners and other administrators; (c) The legitimating of policy through political actions taken by the political authority or legislative body; (e) the implementation of selected policies through public expenditures and the function of government agencies, and (d) the evaluation of implemented policies by

government agencies themselves and/or by other professional groups and organisations. Therefore, it is useful to examine the policy process in Libya from this perspective.

The initiation of a policy starts with ideas; these are expressed in the form of demands to be provided as new products and services to satisfy the needs of society. The ideas and their identification, therefore are the first stage in the policy process practice in Libya, and constitute the spirit of public policy (see Chapter 5.2.2.1). These ideas are mainly generated by people who hold the political power/authority in the state. As discussed in Chapter 3, the structures of the political authority in Libya have been changed since the independence of the state on 24th December 1951, which led to the establishment of the Kingdom of Libya, the first time in Libya's history for the country to be ruled by a national government. Since then, the country has experienced three forms of political structure; a constitutional monarchy between 1952-1969, a revolutionary republic between 1969-1977 and a Jamahiriya System between 1977-2011.

The Jamahiriya System was launched in 1977 by the establishment of the Basic People Congresses (BPCs) as principal and formal bodies of the political authority. Since then, the political authority has been officially held by the people as members of the congresses and through these, the Libyan people are directly involved in the policy process, in particular the policy initiation. The changes in the political structures have led to policy ideas being initiated by different actors who hold the political authority during these periods. As this research basically examines the practice of the policy process; the kingdom period is excluded in further discussions, and the republic period will be discussed briefly as a part of the whole regime during the period of the present study. However, in spirit of the change in the structure of political authority, generated/identified policy ideas have been processed through

similar stages during the whole period of 1969-2011. Accordingly, the whole stages of the policy process and the actors involved during the republic period will be first presented together, and then the activities and actors involved in each stage of the policy process during the period of the Jamahiriya System 1977-2011, which demonstrates the Libyan practice of the policy process will be discussed in details.

6.3.1 The Stages in the Libyan Policy Process Practice 1969-1977

As described in Chapter 3.6.1., since the establishment of republic in 1969, the country had experienced certain political and administrative transitions lasting for nearly a decade. This was regarded as significant for the country to dissolve all pre-existing forms of political structures, and replace them with fresh ones enabling people to participate in the policy process. Through these actions, the political authority was principally concentrated in the hands of the RCC, and therefore it became the principal body by which policy ideas and issues could in different policy areas be generated. Therefore, during the period of 1969-1977, policy ideas as a nucleus of a policy were mainly initiated by the RCC.

Policy Initiation

As mentioned in 3.6.1-3.6.4., and 5.2.1., once policy ideas are sufficiently recognised, defined and evidently expressed, the RCC asks the cabinet (which mostly consisted of the RCC members in the early years of the revolution) to put up a memorandum proposal of policy problem under consideration. The cabinet, as a body charged with responsibility of policy-formulation and implementation, begins to act by considering how to respond to these ideas and claims presented by of the RCC. This involves the development of policy issues by determining a general statement of important issues including foreign and domestic matters, and white bills.

Although, policy ideas were mainly initiated by the RCC and crystallised into practical proposals by the cabinet, the latter also has a right and authority to tackle any existing policy problems in society and bring them before the RCC for consideration as genuine policy issues. This role is driven from its authority and tasks, which were officially determined in the Provisional Constitutional Proclamation of 1969. The cabinet was appointed by the RCC to be in charge of formulating and implementing selected policies and its members are politicians and heads of all government institutions in the state. Therefore, they run and control these agencies, and appoint their heads and senior administrators. The cabinet was also responsible for considering how public services can be delivered to society in the best way, as well as recognising all policy problems and revealing them as necessary policy issues that should be considered. It was a constitutional task of the cabinet to suggest and decide policy issues; therefore it had largely suggested many policy issues which were endorsed and included in the memorandum. With regard to its vital role, it is seen as primary actor in policy initiation, although its activity was massively influenced by the RCC. As Bearman (1986) pointed out, from the beginning of the revolution, the relationship between the RCC and the cabinet as a government remained indistinct. Consequently, the chairman of the RCC became the Prime Minister in January 1970 and the government was mostly formed from RCC members.

After the memorandum is sufficiently determined by the cabinet, it is handed over to the RCC for consideration and endorsement. The RCC, as the superior authority in the state, has the power to decide public policies of the state, considers all determined issues, and makes all necessary decisions about them. When the determined memorandum receives the blessing of the RCC, it is passed on to the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) to be discussed by the National

General Congress (NGC). The ASU was established in 1971 and restructured in 1975, and the NGC was the highest authority of the ASU and headed by the RCC. It serves as the equivalent of a national parliament to discuss and commend any bills, policy plans and other memoranda presented by the RCC. Therefore, the congress was seen as a biennial national parliament where bills and policy issues were scheduled, discussed at length, and finally approved. It held two sessions in 1972 and 1974 to discuss certain policy issues and plans in different policy areas introduced by the RCC, including the first and second development plans between 1973-1975 and 1976-1980. Normally, over 90 per cent of presented bills and issues were accepted and approved for formulation. The ASU became the only national political organisation by which any political activity in the state would be exercised. It was the most visible and important arena of the policy process practice in Libya, particularly for policy initiation. Any political activity exercised outside this organisation was banned. As a result, all political parties and other organised groups were abolished. The trade unions, as pressure groups were also not independent in this organisation; they were regarded as professional groups and their activity limited to explaining the problems of their members, because all political activity was confined to the ASU. In spite of this, the NGC organisationally was the supreme authority in the ASU and in practice the RCC was still the highest authority in the state. It was the principal source of policy ideas and issues, and most of the identified issues that had been discussed by the ASU, were presented and got their final endorsement by the RCC. Therefore, the ASU may be seen as an active actor in policy initiation, although the RCC is a filter of all policy issues discussed by the NGC.

Once the determined memorandum got its final approval by the RCC, it was sent to the Highest Planning Council (HPC) as an authoritative body for policy formulation. According to the Former Undersecretary of Planning (FUP), *“since the establishment of the republic, a*

great majority of bills and issues in different policy areas were developed and programmed after getting consultation, advice and support from the HPC”.

Policy Formulation

As discussed in Chapter 3.6.1.1., the HPC was established in 1971, and served as a consultative apparatus to the RCC for policy preparation and planning. It was functioning as a national planning body and had become responsible for the preparation of policy plans. Therefore, it considered what appropriate response should be taken to the endorsed issues. According to the research findings described in (5.2.2.2), this was done by developing policy proposals and laying down an action plan which usually contains statements about what was to be done. The plan typically includes a survey of current economic and social situations, an evaluation of the preceding plan, an estimation of national economic growth, a statement of policy objectives, policy priorities, rational options among alternatives, and necessary financial allocations by which the intended objectives can be achieved and authoritative action taken. Thus, selected policies in Libya were formulated in terms of development plans particularly during the period 1969-85. The plans carry statements of policy objectives and what proportions of the national resources that should be devoted to the achievement of these objectives.

During the formulation stage, as the Undersecretaries of the Education and the Health suggest, policy objectives and programmes are ideally identified and decided, as well as the design and presentation of programmes and projects in different policy areas are in a comprehensive development plan. The latter has predominately been prepared through the activities of the HPC and the task/function of the planning divisions set in all ministries. Each of these divisions is a formal body of a particular sector and directly functioned under its

control; thus, it considers the plan of its own policy area, through full cooperation with the HPC. This technical body (the HPC) is concerned with policy planning and was operating under the direct supervision and control of the cabinet and the RCC. Therefore, it jointly and closely served with the cabinet and the RCC to identify policy objectives and programmes and formulate policy plan. Once a policy is formulated and its action plan is designed, it passed to the cabinet for consideration and approval. After the policy plan is satisfactorily determined and has received further approval from the cabinet, it brought before the RCC for consideration and endorsement. When the plan is agreed, it is returned to the RCC for final approval and then passed into law to become a validated policy for implementation.

Policy Implementation

As discussed in Chapter 2.5.2., the implementation is the actualisation stage of the policy process; the stage at which the public demands are really responded to. It usually involves a consideration of how the national resources can be efficiently allocated, as well as authoritative actions towards direct achievement of the objectives set forth in prior policy plans. It also involves the mobilisation of national resources, and necessary financial allocations and measurements of the achieved results. The cabinet, as the government of the day, is responsible for providing public services in different areas (health, education, housing etc) and improving their qualities. It is, therefore, the responsible body for policy implementation and for considering how to put the decided policies into effect. This is by taking actions on the one hand, to relate policy objectives to expected outcomes and on the other hand to bring these outcomes into existence. Ultimately, the cabinet determines the means of policy implementation and considers how the necessary financial resources should be allocated.

According to the respondents' answers within the different government agencies, selected policies have largely been implemented by the public sector and financed from the state treasury or budgetary appropriations. Libya, as a developing country and since the early years of the oil industry, lacked many basic services that should be having been provided. The services range from the provision of public transport, to free education, health care, housing as well as establishment of infrastructure and public buildings such as schools, houses, factories, roads, public utilities and communications. Due to these services were lacking because they could not have been easily be provided by the private sector, as such the government has become responsible for providing them. This is done through the central planning function and public sector activity as appropriate methods and means of policy preparation and implementation. Therefore, huge programmes and projects in different area of public policy are contained in development plans. The implementation of these programmes require a lot of technologies and equipment, constructing materials and professional skills which cannot simply be met domestically, thereby leaving the country reliant on foreign providers. Consequently, policy implementation is largely dependent on foreign companies and international markets in providing such materials, high technologies and professional skills. These were mainly financed from oil revenues as a principal resource of foreign currency. The oil revenues, as discussed earlier, have become a primary resource for the government to finance its public policies. Therefore, policy implementation in Libya has largely depended on oil revenues and is extensively affected by them. As the FUP said, *"public policies in Libya had been well prepared, but some difficulties had arisen during their implementation"*. This led to some policies and programmes to totally to hit their objectives. Such failures were experienced during the implementation of the development plans for 1973-75 and 1976-80. Many programmes and projects were not implemented as

they had been set in the action plan in different areas; some of them were cancelled and others reprogrammed into subsequent plans.

Consequently, the government began to consider what happens during and after the implementation of a plan. It started to consider the successes and failures of its implemented policies in achieving intended objectives, as well as recognising what new policy issues had arisen from the implementation that should be considered and processed into new policy. These and many other issues were considered at this stage of the policy evaluation.

Policy Evaluation

There are a number of evaluation methods have been considered in policy evaluation such as, hearings and reports, site visits, programme measures, comparison with professional standards, and cost-benefit analysis (see Chapter 2.5.3). Although, the Libya government, since the establishment of republic in 1969, has generally reviewed the efficiency of its own implemented policies by using certain techniques such as site visits, programme measures and comparison with professional standards. The evaluation, as indicated by the interviewees, was mainly carried out by government agencies through the activity of the evaluation department at the Ministry of Planning, the function of the HPC, and the continuation and evaluation department as a government agency. It had also been conducted occasionally through field visits to certain schemes by appointed teams of legislators, the implementers themselves, and senior administrators to pick up impressionistic data about actual achievements. These were typically followed by producing assessment reports periodically about government achievements. People who engaged in this activity were the administrators, technocrats and government officials in each sector.

From the foregoing explanation of the policy process practice in Libya during the period of

1969-1977, four distinctive processes can be demonstrated- policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation. Different actors have also been involved in these processes. These are typically the RCC, the Cabinet, the Ministry of Planning, the ASU and the HPC. The powers of all these bodies involved in the policy process during this period, as discussed in Chapter 3.1, ceased to exist in their form in 1977, and their political authority was formally transferred to the BPCs, which assumed their political powers and roles from 1977 onwards.

6.3.2 The Stages in the Libyan Policy Process Practice 1977-2011

Since 1977, the BPCs have become established and a principal means through which the political authority in Libya can be practiced. Libyan people have become members of the BPCs, and through these congresses, they have been involved in the policy process, particularly policy initiation. Therefore, they can express their demands and needs by identifying policy ideas and develop them into policy issues. They can also discuss and agree an agenda of important issues in different policy areas including matters of peace and war. These new arrangements led to the establishment of a new method of the policy process practice including the activities and actors who carry out the actions/involved in each stage (see Chapter 3.7.1).

6.3.2.1 Policy Initiation

As discussed in Chapters 2.5.1 and 5.2.2.1, public policy in Libya is initiated when certain needs in society are adequately recognised, described, defined and expressed as policy ideas, and then developed into policy issues and addressed on the policy agenda. It starts with ideas that are recognised as felt needs and expressed as public demands to be provided. Policy ideas generation/identification therefore is the first stage in policy initiation and constitutes

the spirit of public policy, but how are these ideas identified and developed into imperative issues?

According to the empirical study findings, public policy in Libya is initiated by the BPCs through three main stages; policy ideas identification, policy issue development and policy agenda setting.

Policy Ideas Identification

The identification of policy ideas starts with idea perception and recognition of expressed needs and desires of people as policy problem, and followed by ideas description and definition. The defined ideas are expressed by arising general statement of public demands such as asking for new service or improving existing services and suggesting bills or amending existing acts. Once, the policy ideas are defined and expressed, they are developed into policy issues.

Policy Issue Development

The development of policy issues refers to the processing of policy ideas into policy issues through defining, determining and addressing policy issues, in order to determine general statement of important issues in different policy areas including foreign and domestic matters and white bills. The agenda setting is the final stage in the policy initiation; it is a process of placing certain issues on the agenda. The setting of agenda begins with agenda preparation which mainly involves issues consideration, disposition, reviewing, compilation, and finally issues listing and classification. It is then followed by determining agenda items which is a collection of various bills and issues.

Policy Agenda Setting

This is done by the General Secretariat of the GPC. On some occasions, many issues are presented by the BPCs and the GPCCommittee ‘Cabinet’ - as the principal bodies constituting the political power in the state -, which cannot simply be considered in one session due to the capacity of the policy agenda and the limitation of the state annual budget. In such cases, the GS of the GPC organisationally has a right to select and schedule policy issues that should be presented for discussion in the subsequent session of the GPC. After the agenda items are finally determined, an authoritative action is taken by the GS of the GPC for setting the agenda, and then sent to the BPCs for discussion and deciding. Once its decisions are brought to the GPC, the latter annually takes its majority to conclude the findings. The agreed agenda serves as a basis for policy proposals which is sent to the GPCCommittee and the NPCouncil for developing and designing policy plans. Whole stages of the policy initiation are illustrated in Figure 6.2.

Typically, to carry out the series of stages discussed above, various people capable of making policy decision or influencing policy initiation processes are involved. They include the BPCs, GPCCommittee, Trade Unions and Syndicates (TUSs), the NPCouncil, the GPC, the GS of the GPC and the Leader of the Revolution (LoR). As mentioned earlier, the BPCs have become the principal means by which policy ideas are generated, defined and developed into policy issues. The BPCs usually hold two ordinary sessions. In the first meeting, policy ideas are generated and issues in different areas of public policy are defined. Policy agenda is also drafted and agreed by the GPC to be considered in its second session containing certain bills and issues in different policy areas. They may also hold extraordinary sessions to discuss particular issues as necessary needs arise from the society.

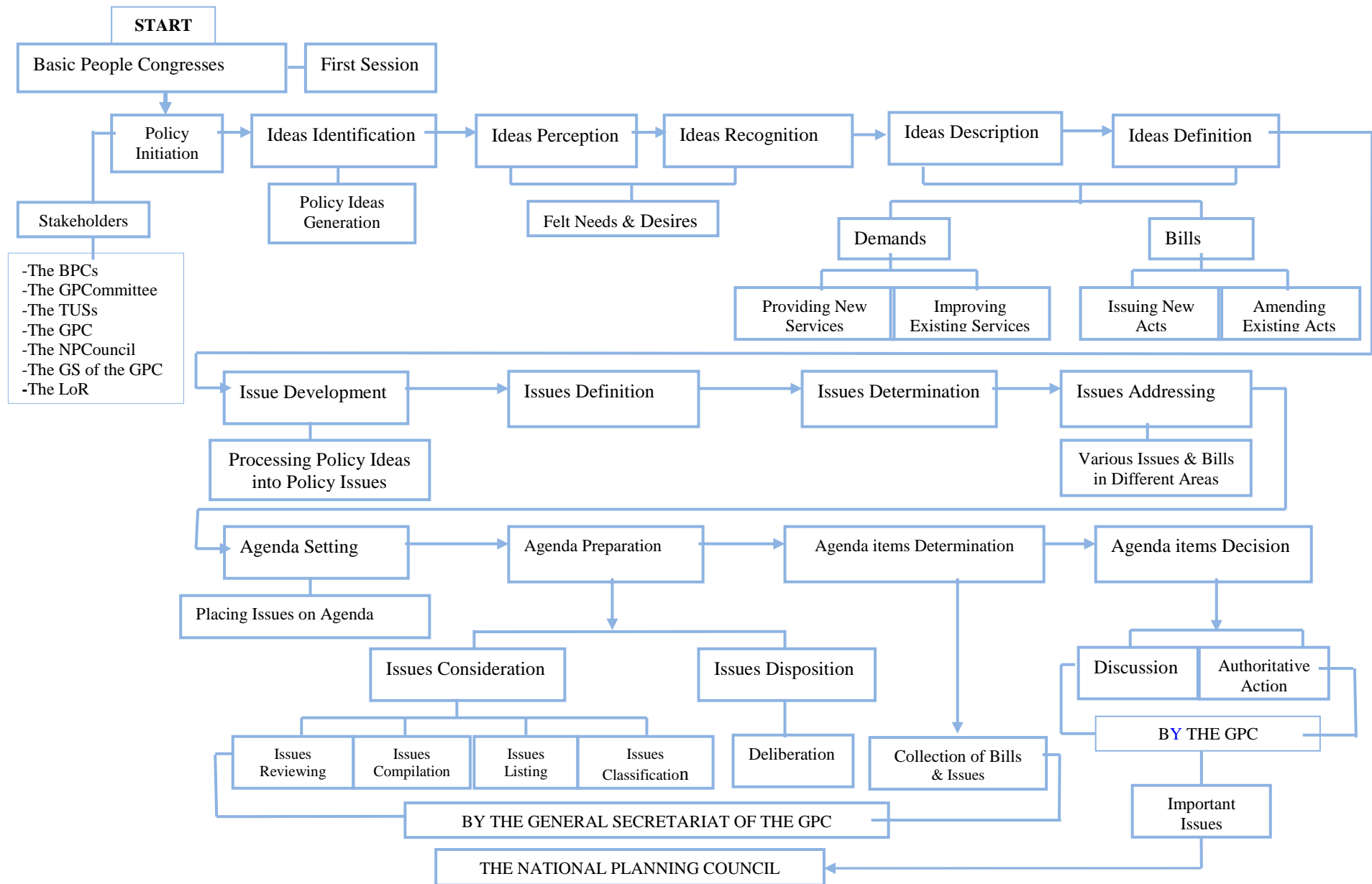


Figure 6.1: Activities and Actors Involve in the Policy Initiation in Libya
Source: Compiled by the author from the empirical collected data

As discussed in Chapter 3.7.1.1., the GS of the GPC calls all the BPCs to hold its first session to set policy agenda. As a result, members of each BPC meet together and each member has a right to express his/her ideas, urgent needs and desires. The latter typically range from asking for new services or improving existing services, to suggesting bills or amending existing acts which reflect public demands. Each arising idea is discussed in length by all the people in each BPC in order to determine general a statement of imperative issues in different policy areas. A long debate is taken over each idea, to crystallise policy ideas into sensible policy issues, including foreign and domestic matters and white bills. This has been done when people's consensus views, ideas, demands and decisions are agreed in their meetings. The agreed issues are together carried by the secretariats of the BPCs and brought to the GPC as a complete sheet of policy issues for consideration and approval. In many occasions, as the MoGS and the HES stressed, the BPCs' decisions are typically unspecified and general statements of policy demands, which can be seen as general guidelines of developing issues. The BPCs may also decide ambitious objectives and overestimate policies. In this case, the GS of the GPC collects such issues, filters and classifies them, then appoints a professional committee to consider them. The committee usually comprises members selected from the secretaries of the PBCs and the TUSs as well as experts in the area of the issue under consideration. The committee considers, define and determines the issues then submits them to the GS of the GPC as determined issues.

Policy issues also are presented to GPC by the TUSs. The latter, as discussed in Chapter 3.7.1.3, have not independently functioned in the same way as any Unions in the UK and other Western countries. They have been treated as a formal body and part of the political authority. Therefore, workers and employees in each organisation who have similar occupations and activity established their congresses, and select a general secretary to

represent them in the GPC. Through these congresses, they have tackled their problems and expressed their views and ideas about particular problems. They operate within the machinery of the political structures and through this position they have expressed their views and demands on the government. Since then, they have been given full recognition to engage in the policy process. Their consensus on the matters under discussion are taken by the general secretaries to the GPC where their demands are presented, considered and shaped as policy issues in the annual gathering of the congress. On many occasions, they are consulted when matters related to particular areas of public policy are being considered, because they have a special interest and knowledge in certain issues. Thus, they influence policy agenda through their participations as professionals in different policy areas by taking actions to ensure that their suggested issues go in the direction desired by their members.

The GPCCommittee as a government and the NPCouncil as an expert body of policy planning also have a right to develop and define issues and present them to the GPC to be placed on an agenda. The GPCCommittee, in addition to its responsibility for developing policy plans and implementing selected policies, is responsible for tackling any existing policy problems and determine policy issues, then bringing them to the GS of the GPC as crucial issues for consideration. These issues are usually defined and determined by professional or selected committees appointed by the secretary of each policy area including education, health and housing. They are also determined through the activities of the Planning Secretariat (PS) as a member of the GPCCommittee, because all members of the GPCCommittee are working coordinated together and are responsible collectively. The PS is seen as a technical body concerned with policy planning and worked under the direct supervision and influence of the GPCCommittee. It coordinated works with all ministries and people it worked with have detailed information and knowledge, as career officials, of the issues dealt with in specific

departments. On the other hand, the NPCouncil as mentioned in Chapter 3.7.1.4., was established in 1998 as “expertise house”, similar to the think tank in other countries concerned with policy planning. It comprises policy planners, experts and advisors, and professional committees and groups, who have experience and specialist knowledge in different policy areas. It coordinated with the GPCCommittee, and all institutions and government agencies, and also could consult other experts outside these institutions for policy planning. Therefore, since its establishment, it has engaged in considering the exiting problems in the society, through which policy ideas and issues can be defined and developed. This was been done by conducting studies about matters on public concern and preparing reports about them. It can also propose important issues in public interests and new bills and advice amendments of existing acts, then submit them to the GPC for consideration. As the Director of the Planning and Developing Human Resources at the NPCouncil (DPDHR) stressed, the NPCouncil performs its tasks through organising seminars and called all related people who have specialised information and knowledge about issues under consideration, to discuss and develop policy issues. At the same time, it sets guidelines for developing policy issues from identified policy problems. He also stated that the majority of considered issues seemed to be technical issues, which should routinely be handled by the professionals who have special knowledge and ability to define and develop such issues. In addition to the policy issues presented by the PBCs, the TUSs, GPCCommittee and the GPC as the formal bodies of political structure, the Leader of the Revolution (LoR) also had influence on these bodies to adopt his ideas and directives. Since 1977 the RCC was formally abandoned from all political authority and Qaddafi as the chairman of the RCC attained his new position as de facto commander-in-chief of the armed forces and adopted the new title of the LoR (see Chapter 3.6.4.1). According to his honourable position as a person who had large and long political experience as a head of the state, and the original founder of the people’s authority,

he was regarded as a master and mentor to the people congresses and people committees. Therefore, he continued to influence the policy process in Libya, in particular policy initiation. According to the respondents' answers, his ideas, views, suggestions, comments, hints and directives were respected, appreciated and honoured by the PBCs, the TUSs, GPCCommittee and the GPC as the formal bodies of political structure. They had been seen as very imperative issues to be taken into account by both the PBCs and the GPC as the legislative body and the GPCCommittee as the executive body. This can be clearly observed when certain ideas, claims and suggestions expressed by him, on many occasions, were seriously considered by the BPCs and the GPC, and thoughtfully addressed as policy issues and got a priority to being on agenda. To validate that, a decision was taken by the General People Congress in the season of 1990 states that, *“suggestions, ideas and directives of the leader of the revolution are binding and must be taken account and considered as significant issues”* (The General Secretariat of the GPC, 1990: 111).

The GPC, as described in Chapter 3.7.1.4., is the highest authority and the responsible body for considering, drawing up and approving policy agenda and plans. It is a gathering of secretaries of the BPCs, MPCs, PCs, and the TUSs. Heads of the People's Office for Monitoring and Controlling, the Central Bank, the NPCouncil and the National Security Council are also attended in the GPC meetings. The GPC is equivalent to a national parliament of other countries and most of its routine duties are delegated to its general secretariat. The latter organisationally has a right to determine the agenda items; therefore, it starts to act by collecting and classifying all received issues whether arising by the BPCs and the TUSs or defined and determined by the GPCCommittee and the NPCouncil. The agenda setting, as mentioned earlier, is the final stage in the policy initiation; it is a process of placing certain issues on agenda. The process of agenda setting, as described by the Member

of the General Secretary of the GPC (MoGS), begins with agenda preparation which mainly involves issues consideration, disposition, reviewing, compilation, and finally issues listing and classification. Agenda therefore is a collection of various bills and issues, the latter as mentioned earlier, involved different sources. Agenda sources are illustrated in Figure 6.3.

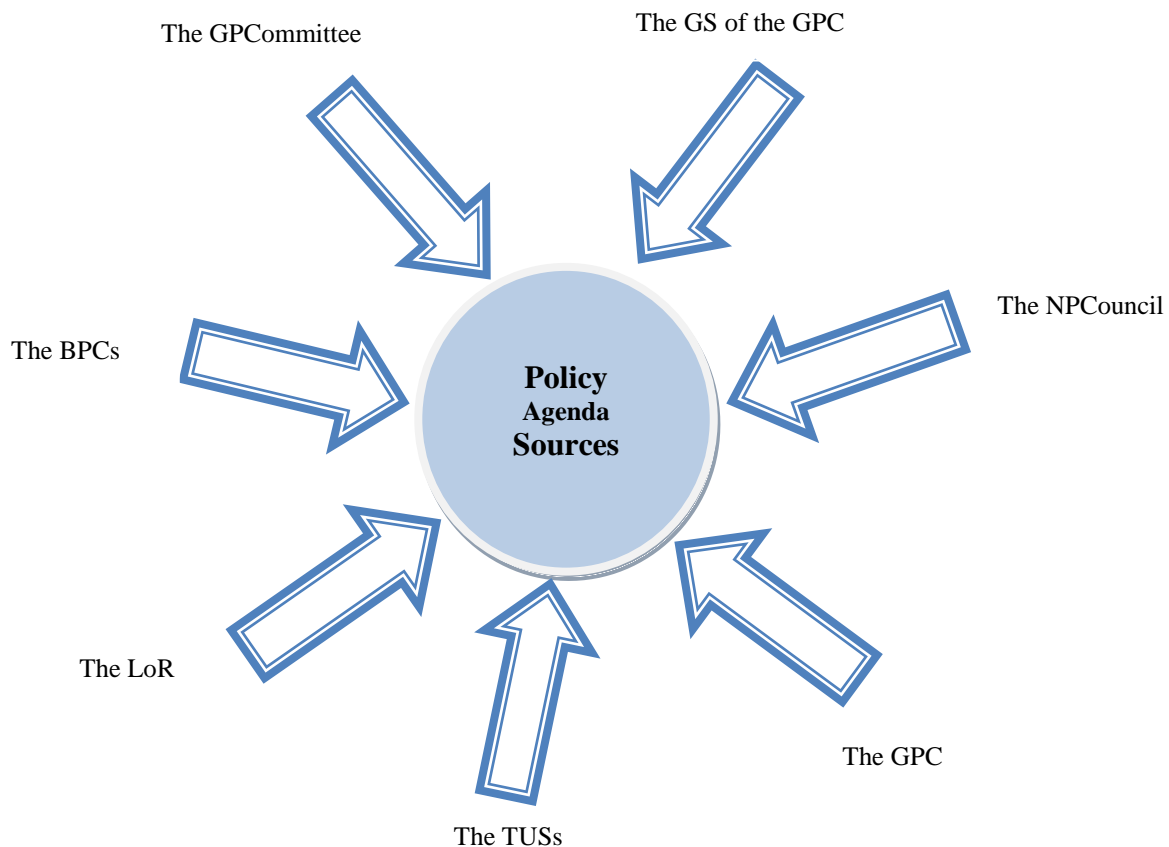


Figure 6.2: Agenda Sources

According to the MoGS of the GPC, on some occasions, many issues are presented, which cannot simply be considered in one session due to the finite capacity of the policy agenda and the limitation of the state annual budget. Therefore, the GS of the GPC organisationally has a right to determine agenda items by selecting and scheduling policy issues that should be placed on agenda. Once agenda items are finally determination, it is sent to the GPC for discussion in the subsequent session. Issues that failed to reach the agenda the first time are

not totally ignored, but are carried over to next session. Determined agenda is still not considered as valid until it is approved by the GPC. Once, an authoritative action is taken by the GPC for setting agenda, it is sent to the BPCs for discussion in their second session. In this session, the BPCs members engage in long debate over agenda items. The agenda typically, as the MoGS of the GPC states, contains eight main items: the LoR's hints and directives, activities reports of the government agencies, bills, general matters, determined issues, issues related to foreign policies, activities reports of the controlling and monitoring bodies (the People's Office for Monitoring and Controlling, and the NPCouncil), and finally questioning the government.

The agreed issues are together carried by the secretariats of the BPCs and brought to the GPC as a complete sheet of decided issues for consideration and approval. The GPC in turn annually takes its majority to conclude the findings, and decided or agreed agenda serves as a basis for policy proposal development and becomes ready for formulation. The general secretariat then sends the agreed agenda to the GPCcommittee and the NPCouncil for developing and designing policy plans. Therefore, policy initiation in Libya has involved different actors, individuals and institutions who have played a crucial role. Also, many policy issues were thrown open to public debate before their formulation and approval.

6.3.2.2 Policy Formulation

As mentioned earlier, the GPCcommittee and the NPCouncil for developing and designing policy plans. People in these bodies who are charged with the responsibility for policy consideration and development begin to act by considering in details the decided issues and determining the most suitable responsive action to be taken. This, as discussed in Chapter 2.4., involves the translation of wide proposals into specific statements and recommendations

as well as the development of a pertinent and acceptable proposed course of action for dealing with public problems. More specifically, it involves the identification of the problem, the causes of the problem, the various alternatives for resolving this problem, the selection of the most satisfactory alternatives and finally the decisions for developing an action plan. Consequently, an action plan is developed in this stage by putting the policy plan into detailed statements about what is to be done. This action plan, as Starling (2010) comments, is conducted through a description, prescription, and interpretation of wide proposals into detailed statement of policy objectives and programmes and the allocation of the necessary resources in which intended aims can be achieved. Thus, during the formulation stage, policy objectives and priorities are ideally decided.

The interview results described in the previous chapter also indicate that the final shape of the Libyan selected policies is formulated in terms of policy plan as an appropriate response to the public needs and demands, which have been expressed by the BPCs and placed on the policy agenda. The policy plan is fundamentally performed by developing, preparing and formulating policy proposals into policy plans through the activities of the NPCouncil, as a principal body concerned with the policy formulation. Once the council receives the decided agenda, it starts with the formation of specialised and professional committees for developing policy proposals and designing policy plans. Therefore, two different types of committees are established for each policy area (education, health, housing etc), and each one usually includes professionals and experts such as policy planners, experts and advisers, academics, researchers, senior officials, heads of the financial and economic institutions, heads of the universities and research centres as well as politicians such as secretaries or the cabinet members. The first committee is called the Coordinated Committee (CC), and is usually chaired by the secretary of the policy area under consideration or by the Secretary General of

the NPCouncil, and consists of other related secretaries and heads of the administrations and research centres that follow the sector. The CC is responsible for considering developed and formulated proposals by the Technical Committees and coordinates between these committees and the sector planning committee. It is responsible for the deciding the policy plan and transfers it to the NPCouncil to be discussed in its meetings. The second committee is called the Technical Committee (TC) which is headed by the Undersecretary of the area under consideration, and comprises professionals and academics, policy experts and planners who are versed in the area under consideration. The role of the TC is to develop, prepare, and formulate policy proposals into policy plan through full coordination with the sector committee and the CC. At the same time, each sector establishes its Technical Committee called a Sector Planning Committee (SPC), which is responsible for preparing policy plan of the sector. This committee comprises senior administrators, heads of departments and other highly experienced individuals in the sector (Code of legislation, 2002; 2005). Through full coordination with these committees, the NPCouncil develops proposals, designs policy plans and considers their financial allocations. As demonstrated in the research findings described in Chapter 5.2.2.2., decided agenda is formulated and put into an action plan through four main stages: developing policy proposal, preparing policy proposal, formulating policy plan and considering policy plan.

Policy Proposal Development

Proposal development starts with collecting and analysing information about issues under consideration, and filtering and validating collected information, which lead to laying down an action plan. According to the Director of the Planning and Developing Human Resources at the NPCouncil (DPDHR) and the Director of Planning at the Higher Education Secretariat (DPHE), the NPCouncil does this by collecting any necessary information and data relating

to policy planning and preparation from all government agencies, public institutions and research centres since they are members of the NPCouncil and must provide the council regularly with all information necessary. Therefore, at the beginning of the design of policy plan, each CC receives a memorandum from the Secretary General of the NPCouncil. The memorandum contains general statements and guidelines about the orientations of the state's public policies through the next period. As a result, each CC starts to coordinate with the TC to collect necessary information by organising series of seminars and calling all related organisations and people who have specialised information and knowledge about issues under consideration including the SPC, to discuss and develop policy proposals. At the same time, it sets guidelines for developing policy proposals and asks experts and specialised research centres to conduct studies about this matter and others on public concern and present outcomes.

Once the information is collected, the TC starts to analyse, filter and validate them, and then use them to prepare policy proposals. This leads to the second stage of the policy formulation, which is described by the Head of Information Centre at the National Corporation for Information and Documentation (HIC) and the Head of Information Office at the Health and Environment Secretariat (HIOH), as the main action of designing the policy plan.

Policy Proposal Preparation

It involves surviving the existing economic and social situations, and setting a detailed statement of policy objectives, programmes and priorities. The surviving of the existing situation usually involves reviewing the existing policies, reviewing available funds, estimating national economic growth and the contribution of each policy area in the capital

income, estimating the expected income from taxes and oil revenues and finally considering the capital investments. Here, as the Former Undersecretary of Planning (FUP) stressed, the fluctuation in oil prices is taken into account in the calculation of expected income during the period of the plan. On the other hand, the setting of detailed statement involves suggesting policy strategies, defining policy objectives, programmes and projects, proposing allocations among policy objectives and finally designing the policy plan. These arrangements help the TC to recognise and determine missing services, programmes and projects that should be included in the incoming policy plan, total investments, and allocations of each programme. Successful identification and determination of these facilitates is the actual stage of formulating and drafting policy plan. This as the Undersecretary of Higher Education (UHE), the Director of Evaluation and Continuation at the NPCouncil (DEC) and the DPHE stressed, is the extended stage of the proposal preparation. It is the stage at which policy strategies are set, policy objectives are listed, policy programmes and projects are scheduled, necessary resources are allocated and the plan's general framework finally drafted. the plan's general framework is usually considered in accordance with the general guidelines and decisions of the BPCs. The guidelines, as mentioned earlier, are usually generalities and unspecified and therefore the policy planners and experts who have detailed information and experience in their job play a significant role in defining policy objectives and priorities as well as selecting planned programmes and projects.

The framework, as the Undersecretary of the Health (UH) and the Undersecretary of the Education (UE) report, *"is typically made through central planning and coherent processes, and obviously contains the intended policy objectives in different policy areas and proposed allocations of implementing these objectives"*. Such objectives may include improving the quality of health care and education services, developing utilities services, extending the

roads network, providing appropriate houses to low income and other necessary consumer goods, developing industrial and agriculture productivity, creating employment opportunity and developing infrastructure and buildings. The proposed allocations of each policy areas are reviewed by special committee before they are finally endorsed and placed in the final draft of the capital budget. The latter is officially prepared through the central and coherent processes. This was done by a Higher Committee established by the GPCCommittee which usually comprises a number of secretaries and headed by the Secretary General or the Deputy Secretary of the GPCCommittee. For instance, to review the capital budget of 2008, the Higher Committee was set up in accordance with the decree 971/2007 and headed by the Deputy Secretary of the GPCCommittee. It comprised Secretaries of Planning, Finance, Economics and Investment, Deputy Secretary of Finance and Undersecretary of Planning, Governor of the Central Bank, and the General Director of the Planning at the GPCCommittee (Code of Legislation, 2008). The committee conducts its work through selecting technical and professional working teams tasked with reviewing all proposed allocation in different policy areas, collating them, and then presenting the information to the Higher Committee in the form of a capital budget.

Policy Plan Formulation

After the draft of the policy plan is completed and its general strategic framework and total investments are initially identified, it is handed to the CC for checking and deliberation to ensure it conforms to the general guidelines and the plan's framework. At this point, as the FUP notes, some comments, amendments, rectifications and additions are made to produce the final draft of policy plan. Also, reductions on suggested investments in some cases are made and it is returned to the TC for reconsideration. The TC reviews the contents of the plan and reconsiders the financial allocations of each programme and project; this is done in

accordance with the CC's new recommendations. Here, the TC may face some difficulties in rescheduling the plan's programmes and projects particularly when some programmes and projects seem to be cut down or completely cancelled. This may lead to the re-order of policy objectives and priorities, and the drafting of a new plan in accordance with new amended investments. In this case, the TC collaborates closely with the SPC to redraft the plan in accordance with the CC's recommendations. The SPC, therefore hold a set of meetings for all its member senior administrators and individual policy planners to discuss the new amendments of its own policy plan as the majority of considered issues are technical issues. At this point the SPC considers policy objectives and priorities and suggests the adequate financial resources by which stated objectives can be attained. Listed programmes and projects mostly come back to the senior administrators and policy planners who conduct feasibility studies to determine the credibility or viability of the desired programmes and projects. Here, a major role is played by the policy experts and planners and senior administrators as technocrats, who have detailed information on the policy area for defining policy objectives and priorities as well as selecting policy programmes and projects. Policy programmes and projects that pass the viability test are included in the sector plan with their allocations. At this point, the scope and size of the plan are set up and the final draft of the plan decided, then forwarded to the CC for further consideration and endorsement. This usually takes a lengthy period and persistent intercommunications between the TC, the PSC and departments of the NPCouncil. The latter are the main providers of adequate and necessary information for policy planning and preparation to the CC and the TC committees. Once the amended plan is acknowledged by the CC, it is sent in its final shape to the Secretary General of the NPCouncil to be presented in the following meeting of the NPCouncil. Before presenting the final draft of the formulated policy plan in the NPCouncil's meeting, it is sent to the GPCommittee for review and blessing, after which it is returned to

the NPCouncil. Therefore, the final draft is finally discussed in this meeting where it is formally sanctioned. Usually, all secretaries, heads of government institutions and agencies, heads of the research centres and universities, the CC, the TC, the SPC, policy planners, and other economic and financial experts from different government agencies are invited to these meetings. According to the Higher Education Secretary (HES) the senior politicians and the UH the senior policy planners, after the plan has been satisfactorily determined and has received the blessing of the council in its meeting, it is transferred to the GPC for consideration and approval to reach the fourth and final stage of the policy formulation.

Policy Plan Consideration

Determined policy plan is sent to the GPC, where an authoritative action is taken for approving formulated policy plans. The GPC is informed about the scope, size, and total investments of the plan and these are kept in view when appropriating funds in the annual budget. Since the funds come from budgetary appropriations, the scope, size, and investments of that document can be altered through the exercise. Thus, the GPC discusses the plan and may make adjustments such as exclusion of certain programmes and projects if deemed necessary. Once the plan is agreed upon, it receives its final approval and then passed into law to become a validated selected policy, the General Secretariat of the GPC sends them to the GPCCommittee as a government and follows up their implementation. Activities and actors involved in these stages are illustrated in Figure 6.4.

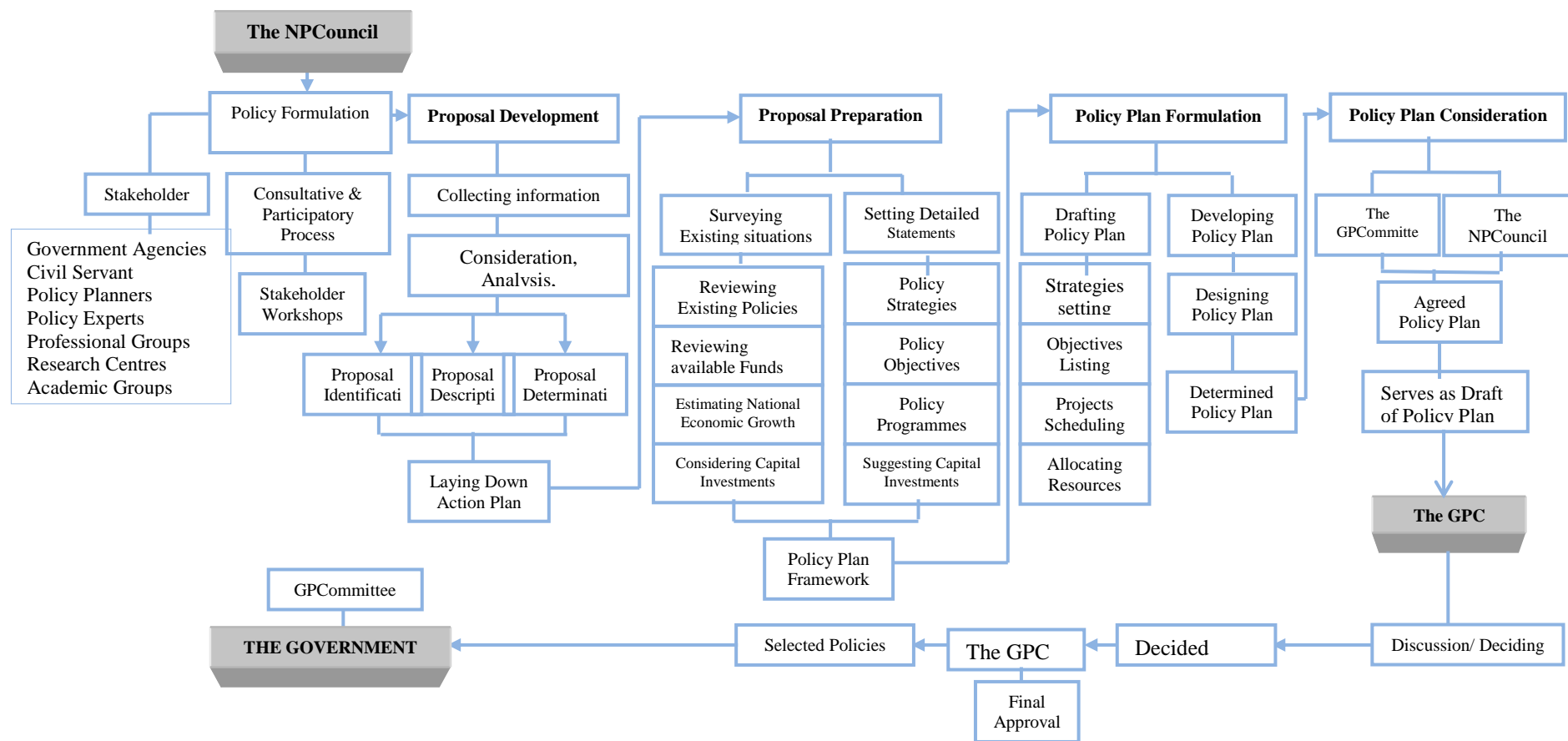


Figure 6.3: Activities and Actors Involved in the Policy Formulation

Source: Compiled by the author from the empirical collected data

However, the formulation of selected policies is carried out through the central planning, adopted by the Libyan government as appropriate means for policy preparation and planning. As the Undersecretaries of Education and Health indicated, this has been traced back to the first plan of 1963-68 and followed by four others after the establishment of the Republic in 1969 which have sequentially been undertaken for either three or five-year periods (1969-1972, 1973-75, 1976-80 and 1981-85) to give special emphasis to all policy areas. In addition, they pointed out, since 1985 the government altered its orientation by adopting the annual policy plan as an appropriate method for preparing its policies. This as the UHE and MOGS stated happened because the oil revenues started to collapse in 1980, causing the government to face some financial difficulties in completing the last development plan 1981-1985, and to deflate its expenditures in different policy areas. They also, stated that several development plans had been drafted (1986-90, 1991-1995, 1994-1996, 2002-2006, 2006-2010) and only one was adopted and implemented; the three-year development programme of 1994-1996. This as the FUP stated was a collection of the failed programmes and projects from the previous plans. The government later turned to a long term policy planning for each policy area (education, health, housing, financial, transport, etc), to formulate its 2008-2012 development policy plan.

Regardless of the policy area, the processes followed for policy formulation are the same. For all policy areas, the formulation of the selected policies in Libya is conducted by designing policy plan through the activity of the NPCouncil. The policy plan usually contains a set of strategies, objectives, programmes and projects as basic components of the policy plan. It is broken down into programmes and projects as a first step towards its formulation. But who designs these programmes and projects and identifies strategies, objectives and priorities? The task of designing programmes for policy, as indicated by the respondents' answers,

typically belongs to the administrators and policy planners as technocrats, and professional groups. This is because the majority of developed proposals are usually technical issues and they should routinely and technically be handled by the administrators who have the relevant and detailed information and knowledge for that activity. Here, the administrators appear to have the most value as they are professional groups and policy advisers, who have administrative experience, specialist knowledge and can offer detailed advice on the work in their departments. They are seen as suppliers of options for dealing with technical issues, and therefore can influence the definition of policy objectives and priorities and determine policy proposals. The role of the administrators as policy formulators is also to accurately prepare the programmes and bring them before the NPCouncil in clearly defined units and arranged in their logical linkages. With this the NPCouncil can easily see how the programmes form into strategies and how the strategies in turn link up into a policy.

The administrators can be seen as the guardians of the vital information necessary for policy formulation. They are principal actors involved in the policy formulation through their activity in the policy planning and preparation. Their value and relevance is reflected in the technical advice they offer as ministerial aides and advisers, and because the formulation of any policy proposals is often an outgrowth of their administrative work. Therefore, their influence pervades all government activity and without their support as bureaucrats almost nothing sought by the politicians as political executives is likely to take effect. Thus, their veto is nearly seen as similar to the legislative veto (in which formulated policy cannot be put in effect unless it is approved by the legislators). In addition, selected policies are formulated through the activities of the CC, the TC and the SPC, which involves the administrators and the politicians. The administrators (which include professional and experts individuals and groups, technocrats, heads of the government departments, directors of the research centres,

policy planners, academics and members of the CCs, the TCs and SPCs) and the politicians (as secretaries or ministers who are the heads of government agencies, the responsible people for providing public services and the members of the NPCouncil and the heads of CCs), play a joint role in formulating selected policy. They greatly interact with each other through a continuous intercommunication and a unity of action between them as members of the NPCouncil, the CCs, the TCs and the PSCs. Thus, through a joint and a circular flow of interaction, inter-change of roles and chain of processes between them selected policies are formulated.

6.3.2.3 Policy Implementation

Once the selected policies are formulated, have received their final approval, and passed into law to become validated selected policies, they are sent to the GPCommittee for implementation. The GPCommittee, as described in Chapter 3.7.1.2, is the government of the state in Libya; it is responsible for providing public services, buildings and infrastructure in different areas (health, education, housing, security, utilities, transport, communications, etc.) and improving their qualities. It has authority to use national resources and considers capital budgets. It is a responsible body for considering how decided policy can be implemented in satisfactory ways. Therefore, once the GPCommittee receives the selected policies, it starts to consider how to put them into effect. This is done by taking actions to achieve identified goals set in the policy plans in order to attain public demands in reality. The actions, as described by the UE and the UH mainly comprise the selection of the appropriate means for policy implementation and the determination of the necessary funds. According to the respondents' answers, selected policies are implemented through four main stages: prioritising and programming selected policies, identifying implementing agencies and

implementers, allocating necessary funds among implementers and finally monitoring the activities of implementers.

Policy Prioritising and Programming

The prioritisation and programming of the implementing policies are the first stage in the policy implementation. It involves, as described by the UE, programming and prioritising new or improved services, infrastructure and buildings, and the necessary goods which must be delivered. It also involves the identification of required equipment that facilitate the delivery of such service to satisfy public demands in each policy area. This has usually been done by appointing a professional working group in each sector (education, health, housing and etc). Each group appointed by the secretary is headed by the undersecretary and comprises senior administrators such as directors, heads of offices and department, and other experts in the field. Once the working group in each sector receives the selected policy in their area, it starts to consider how to put it into effect. The group holds a set of meetings to determine criteria for prioritising implementing programmes and projects. Each group finalises its work by preparing a statement of the prioritised programmes, and of the most appropriate means to implement them. The statement is then handed to the secretary for endorsement. Upon endorsement, the group proceeds to the second stage, which is the identification of the implementers.

Implementers identification

The identification of the Implementers, as the HPOHE, the HIOH, the UH and the HBCH stated, involves considering all available means for achieving selected programmes and projects, selecting the most appropriate means and determining main implementers including government agencies and both local and foreign construction companies. Some aspects of the

selected policies only need legislative and administrative actions such as issuing new acts or amending existing ones, establishing new government bodies or improving the performance of the existing ones and the existing services. The implementation of other aspects, in particular those related to physical developments such as building of roads, houses, schools, hospitals, telecommunication network, utilities and infrastructure, on the other hand, require the services of the construction companies. In this case tender committee is appointed for selection of competent companies. The committee starts by developing appropriate criteria and specifications that interested companies have to meet before publicly inviting them to tender. The selected policies typically contain huge large scale programmes and projects in different policy areas, and their implementation requires high-levels of technologies, professional skills and specialised equipment. These requirements could not simply be met domestically; hence the country relies largely on international service providers. So, the committee considered all bids presented by the foreign companies and selected the satisfactory ones among them. Also, the local public companies were engaged for their services but only for small scale projects. However, response from the Undersecretary of education implied that the selected criteria and process for the implementers are often marred by lack of transparency, with some companies being selected based on political reasons rather than their capacity to deliver. Once, the implementers are selected and their contracts signed, the allocation of resources among implementers as the third stage in the policy implementation is considered.

Resources Allocation among Implementers

The allocation of resources among implementers, as the Head of Financial Office at the NPCouncil (HFO) specified, involves disbursement of allocated necessary funds provided by Public Treasury. In some occasions, as the HFO stressed, the disbursed funds are not

liquidated in the proper time, and this causes the implementation of many selected programmes to be done outside the planned timeframe, some even get cancelled eventually. This, as implied by the DEC, the DPHE, the HBCH, the DPDHR and the UH, mainly is as a result of the stringent and complex financial controlling system. Once the fund is provided and the selected policies are being implemented, the government monitors the activities of the implementers as the fourth stage in the policy implementation.

Monitoring the Activities of the Implementers

According to the DEC, the DPHE, the HIOH and the HBCH, the monitor of the implementers' activities is conducted by following-up the implementation efficiency of the selected policies. At this point, the government starts to review the implementation ratios and to measure the achieved results, in order to determine the efficiency of using national resources and the effectiveness of the implemented policies. This has been undertaken, as the HES, the UH, the UE stressed, through the activities of the GPCommittee and a range of different government agencies, and operating staff. For example, to monitor the policies implemented during 2006, a group of experts was appointed in accordance with the GPCommittee decree 9/2007 (Code of Legislation, 2007). The activities involved review of expenditures reported by each sector and comparing with the actual achievements observed from site visits. The government agencies alongside local and foreign construction companies are seen as primary actors in the policy implementation. People who work in these agencies usually include the secretaries or ministries, undersecretaries, senior administrators, civil servants, policy planners and other professionals and staff at both national and local levels. These people include both the politicians and administrators. The two groups of people are seen as the principal actors in the policy implementation, and it is sometimes difficult to identify which of them is the primary actor in this stage. There is a flow of information,

continuous and dynamic interaction between them in their joint task of converting input demands into policy outputs, and this underlies the inter-changeability of roles between them. Activities and actors involved in the policy implementation are illustrated in Figure 6.5.

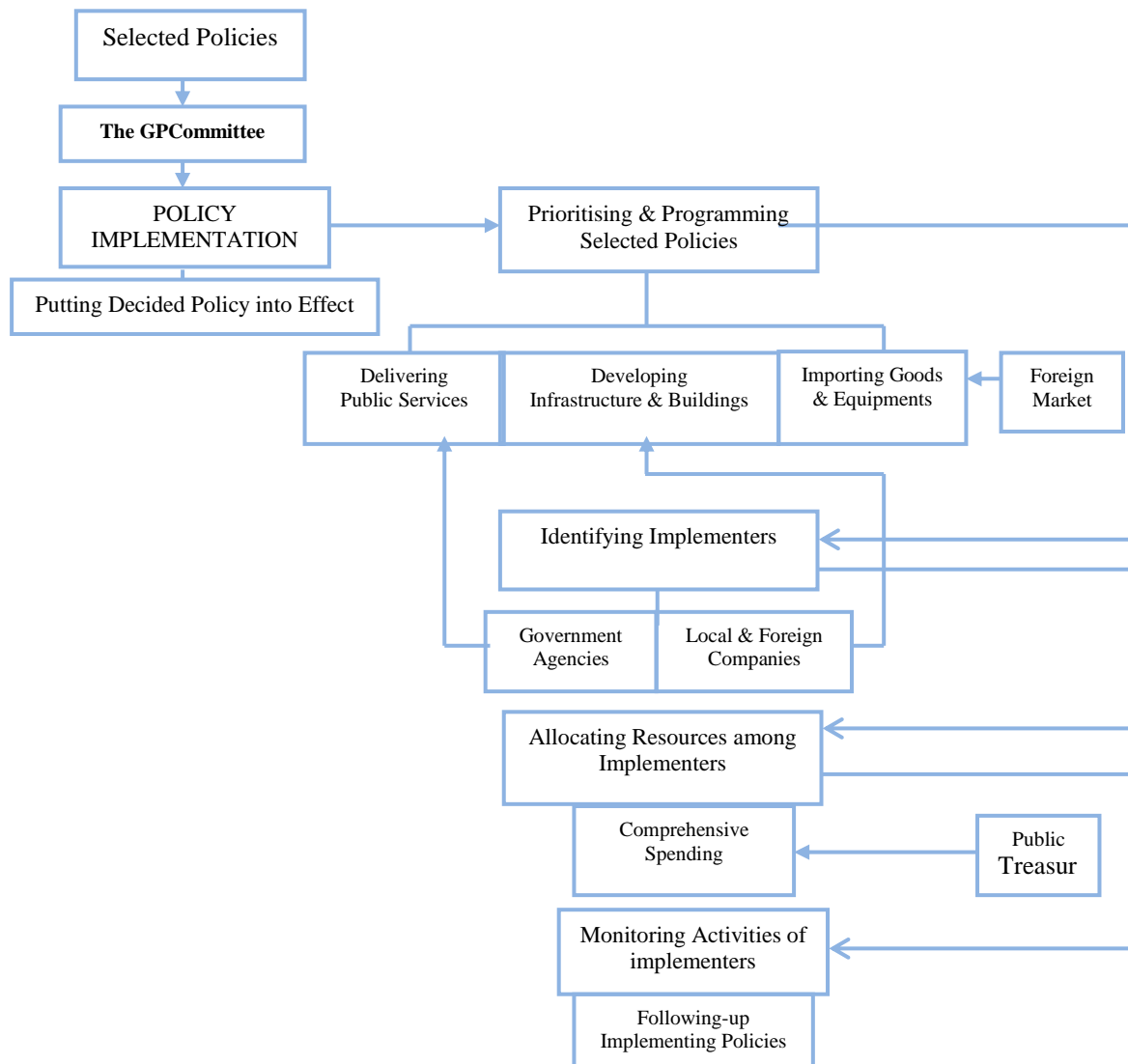
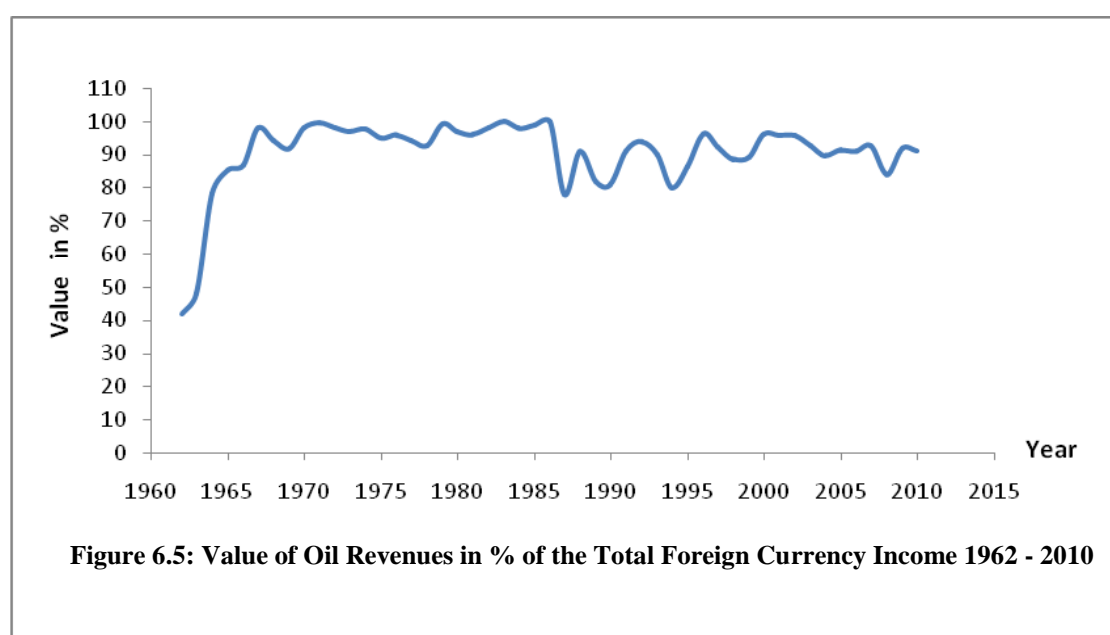


Figure 6.4: Activities and Actors Involved in the Policy Implementation

Source: Compiled by the author from the empirical collected data

As mentioned earlier, Libya prior to the oil industry development lacked many basic services. Since the start of oil production and exportation in 1961, the government has dramatically extended its activities in different policy areas, leading to the implementation of many policies containing huge projects. By the increase in oil revenues a huge income has

accumulated, which took over as the main financial resource of development funds. Seventy percent of these revenues under the current legislation would be allocated to development purposes. Oil revenues, as shown in Table 6.3 and Figure 6.6, have become the principal source of foreign currency; on an average more than 95% of the total exports income from oil revenues. So, any shock and decline in oil prices would have great effects on the Libyan economy in general and the implementation of the selected policies in particular. The effects of oil revenues, as the DPHE, the UH and the HBCH stressed, started since the beginning of 1980s during the sharp collapse of oil prices and imposition of foreign sanctions on Libya by the USA in 1980 and the UN in 1992. Both sanctions lasted until 2003, and strongly affected the Libyan financial position, leading the government to cut down its expenditures and investments in different policy areas, in particular the proposed allocations of the long-term policy plans. This caused a decline in the implementation levels because the government was unable to provide the necessary funds and continue with financing long-term policy plans. Since then, the government has adopted the annual policy plan for preparing its policies and recently turned to a long term policy planning for each policy area (education, health, housing, financial, transport, etc), to formulate its 2008-2012 policy plan.



**Table 6.3: Values of the Oil Revenues% to the Total Foreign Currency
Income 1962-2010 in Million (\$)**

Year	Value of Exports	Oil Revenues %
1962	16.0	41.8
1963	50.2	48.2
1964	102.0	78.4
1965	214.9	85.2
1966	323.2	86.7
1967	924.8	98.1
1968	631.1	94.2
1969	1015.2	91.9
1970	1248.5	98.0
1971	1579.6	99.7
1972	2231.9	98.2
1973	2163.5	97.0
1974	8408.2	97.7
1975	7069.7	95.1
1976	9532.3	95.9
1977	10434.7	94.4
1978	11583.3	92.8
1979	16076.0	99.2
1980	22610.9	96.9
1981	15571.0	96.0
1982	13984.0	98.0
1983	12314.0	100.0
1984	11148.0	98.0
1985	12314.0	99.0
1986	8202.0	100.0
1987	8043.0	78.0
1988	6673.0	91.0
1989	8034.0	82.0
1990	13225.0	81.0
1991	11235.0	91.0
1992	9942.0	94.0
1993	8590.0	90.0
1994	8954.0	80.0
1995	8975.0	86.5
1996	9903.0	96.3
1997	9656.0	92.2
1998	9706.7	88.6
1999	10878.2	89.1
2000	12716.0	96.2
2001	11337.0	95.9
2002	9882.0	95.8
2003	14647.0	92.6
2004	20410.0	89.7
2005	30948.0	91.4
2006	39170.0	91.1
2007	46872.0	92.6
2008	62563.8	84.0
2009	42788.5	92.0
2010	46310.0	91.1

Source: Compiled by the author using various Annual Statistical Reports of the OPEC, the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, the International Bank, the Libyan Central Bank and other Official Documents.

Another significant cause of the decline in the implementation levels is the government's lack of commitment to contractual agreements with the foreign companies as the main contractors of implementing the selected policies. These companies faced many difficulties in completing their contracts on agreed times. This as the UH and the HIC stated is because the government did not complete its contractual commitments with the contractors, often engaging in arguments about hard currency payments and delaying in payments instalments. This situation alongside the UN sanction in 1992 led to many foreign companies' withdrawal from Libya, and those that stayed received a smaller share of the available contracts. The GPCommittee also highlighted in its reports that during the year 2000, seventeen foreign companies, most of which were Turkish, withdrew by mutual agreement (the General People Committee, 2000). The departure of these companies, as the UE reported, caused many programmes and projects set out in the action plan to not be implemented as they have been planned; some of them were cancelled and others reprogrammed into subsequent plans. Therefore, since 1990s, as Sheibani (2008) reported, the Libyan government has adopted new trends to contracting with the local companies (public and private) in implementing decided projects. Unfortunately, most of these companies, as he argued, suffered from lack of qualified and skilled labour, construction materials and experience in implementing large scale projects. This is repeatedly demonstrated by the NPCouncil in its annual reports. The NPCouncil also demonstrated that the Libyan contracting apparatus have deteriorated and although several attempts have been made to re-organise, they became even harder to satisfy the stringent demands (The National Planning Council, 2005; 2006; 2007). The private companies, as reported by Sheibani (2008), gave a great opportunity to contracting small scale projects. Unfortunately, these companies abused this chance, and sought to benefit from differences in the exchange market, where variations between the official market price, and

the black market price were large. This situation led the government to largely, even totally depend on foreign companies in implementing the selected policies.

However, most of the selected policies, as described by the majority of respondents, are well prepared, but have faced certain difficulties during their implementation leading to some implemented policies to fail totally to hit their objectives. The FUP and the DEC also stated that the Libyan government, as a responsible body for implementing selected policies, has attempted to manipulate effectively their intended objectives, but at the end it found that their outputs fail to have satisfactory effects on society. Evidence of this as the FUP and the HIC stated can be found in many official documents and reports which have demonstrated the defects of the implemented policies in particular the NPCouncil' annual reports. Many factors can be identified as having a negative effect on the ability to succeed, but arguably the most significant factor was a serious lack of funds which principally comes from oil revenues especially during the period of sanctions. After the sanctions were lifted, the oil revenues increased and huge funds became available therefore, the government expenditures have since been on the increase. Actual operating and development budgets expenditures figure from 1963-2010 are illustrated in Table 6.4 and Figure 6.7.

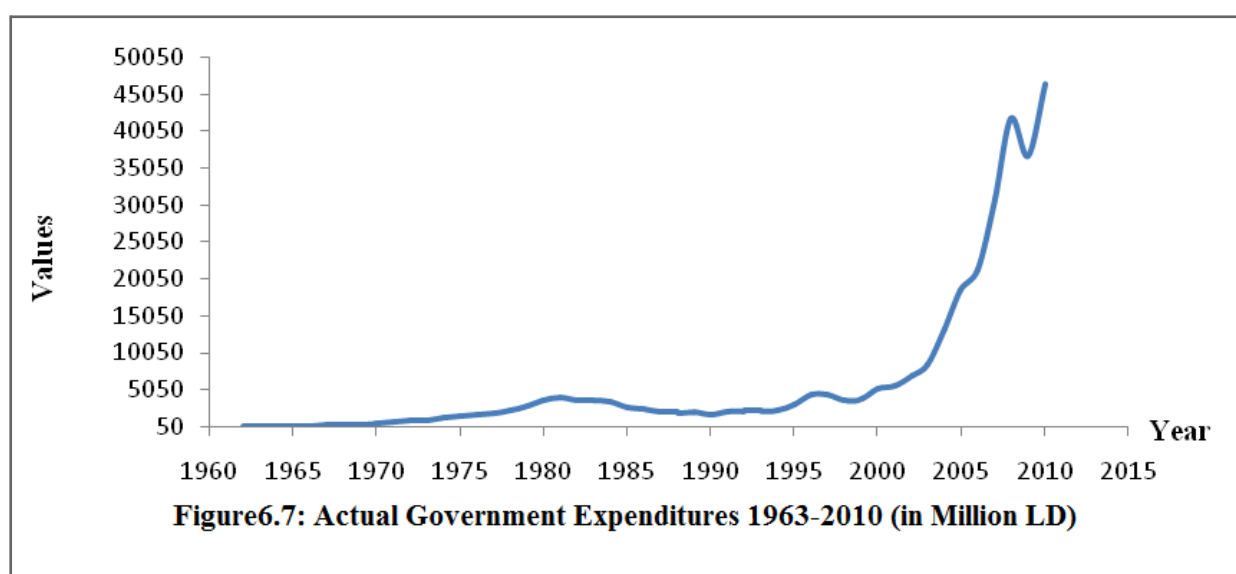


Table 6.4: Actual Operating and Development Expenditures from 1963 to 2010 (in Million LD)

Fiscal Year	Operating Expenditures	Development Expenditures	Total Expenditures
1963	56.3	12.6	70.3
1964	72.4	23	95.4
1965	93.4	52.4	145.8
1966	126.3	82.3	208.6
1967	166.4	128.1	294.5
1968	238.6	140.5	379
1969	291.9	113.1	405
1970	288.4	146.1	434.5
1971	361.9	247.6	609.5
1972	437.1	397.3	834.4
1973	466.1	416	882.1
1974	432	866	1298
1975	573.2	923	1496.2
1976	564	1187.2	1761.2
1977	669.3	1280.3	1949
1978	849.2	1371.3	2220.5
1979	914.6	1868.8	2783.4
1980	1131.8	2551.6	3683.4
1981	1201.4	2872.8	4074.2
1982	1260	2365.9	3625.8
1983	1567.6	2096.3	3663.9
1984	1645.3	1834.7	3480
1985	1182.1	1523.3	2705.4
1986	1332.9	1081.1	2414
1987	1075	993	2068
1988	1125	845.3	1970.3
1989	1350	659	2009
1990	1192	487	1679
1991	1508	640	2148
1992	1574	594	2168
1993	1600	600	2200
1994	1769	507.3	2276.3
1995	2710.1	318.6	3028.6
1996	3761.2	667.6	4428.8
1997	3505.4	943	4448.4
1998	3163.8	485.2	3649
1999	2966.9	794.1	3761
2000	3153.2	1541.0	5250.2
2001	3596.6	1539.0	5631.6
2002	3577.7	2530.0	6866.2
2003	4210.3	3701.7	8487.0
2004	6720.0	6718.0	13438.0
2005	8282.0	10273.0	18555.0
2006	39170.0	91.1	2006
2007	46872.0	92.6	2007
2008	62563.8	84.0	2008
2009	42788.5	92.0	2009
2010	46310.0	91.1	2010

Source: Compiled by the author using Libyan Central Bank Bulletins and Official Documents

Despite the increase in the oil revenues, the selected policies were formulated in the form of annual policy plan, and their financial allocations not been properly provided from the public treasury. This situation, as the FUP, the UH and HES indicated, led to re-allocation of the plan's decided allocations. These allocations, in some cases, are reduced when the plan is put into effect, and the financial allocations of plan items are re-allocated. The plan contents and

objectives are also reconsidered, leading to some policy programmes and projects being cut back with great effects on policy implications, differing from the intended objectives defined at the formulation stage. Such programmes and projects are carried forward in subsequent plans and given priority in their implementation. In some occasions, as the HIC reported, a priority is given to particular programmes and projects to be implemented in accordance with orders or directives of the government. But the re-allocation of the resources in this manner may significantly alter policy objectives and priorities and sometimes may change the schedule scale of the implementing policies. Hill and Hupe (2009) also suggested that policy implementation involves taking decisions, some of which may even alter the policy content and objectives and the re-allocation of decided resources. As they argued, the allocation of the national resources for the achievement of action plan is a formulation activity, but these resources may be re-allocated at any time during policy implementation in order to achieve more pressing and oriented objectives.

Policy implementation, as they point out, starts during policy design, where decisions are taken at the formulation stage to determine the means and methods by which decided policies can be implemented. These actions clearly demonstrate a particular close relationship between the formulation of policy and its implementation. This type of relation exists between the implementation of the selected policies and their evaluation. The government starts to consider the successes and failures of its selected policies when they are being put into effect, and the main purpose of the evaluation is to consider what happens during and after the implementation of the selected policies. Details of how the implemented policies are evaluated are discussed in the next section.

6.3.2.4 Policy Evaluation

Although the monitoring of government achievements is a part of implementation activity, its activities alone are insufficient to reveal the full consequences of implemented policies. The task of establishing this is usually left to policy analysts and researchers who are interested in the policy evaluation or official administrators and the government agencies themselves. Their task, as discussed in Chapter 2.5.3., starts after a policy has been put into effect, in order to understand what happens during and after the implementation of selected policies. Thus, policy evaluators when they start to think about policy evaluation should look at or review the quality of policy formulation, the procedures for policy design and the type of information that is sought and used. They should also set up appropriate criteria or general guidelines for policy measurement to be followed for effective uses and determine how evaluation results are consumed and utilized. Policy evaluation therefore, examines the efficiency and effectiveness of implemented policies by measuring the costs of policy objectives and programmes in comparison with real outputs, and by comparing the intended outputs to actual outputs. An efficient policy, as described in Chapter 2.4., is one where policy objectives and programmes are being achieved with the least possible use of resources, while an effective policy is one where intended programmes are adequately being achieved. Evaluation should also focus on the impact of policy programmes, although the measurement of some policy effects seems to be difficult, particularly in the case of social impacts. Thus, policy evaluation is learning about consequences of a policy; it is an assessment of the overall effectiveness of national programmes in meeting its objectives. It is therefore concerned with the assessment of a policy, including measuring its impacts on a society in order to identify the interim effects and results of implemented policy.

As has been discussed, most implemented policies in Libya have experienced certain failures particularly between intended objectives and the actual achievements. As a result of the unsatisfactory results, the government agencies as executive bodies started to act by carrying out an evaluation of the implemented policies. The interviews' results described in the Chapter 5.2.2.4., also indicate that the evaluation also involves the People's Office for Monitoring and Controlling (POMC) and the NPCouncil, which were established as independent bodies to follow up the government agencies and all implementers. It was carried out to identify the failures and monitor the achieved results as well as to detect any gaps that occur between the promulgated objectives and the actual attainments. Although, there are different methods and techniques for policy evaluation, revealed in literature, (hearings and reports, site visits, programme measures, comparison with professional standards, cost-benefit analysis, before and after studies), the interviews findings demonstrated that the implemented policies in Libya have been evaluated by using only site visits to field work, programme measures and preparing evaluation reports about the actual achievements of the government.

Sites Visits

Sites visits were occasionally carried out to selected schemes by teams of senior administrators from implementing government agencies, to measure the achievement ratios of their own implemented policies, and pick up impressionistic data about the actual achievements. These agencies produce periodical assessment reports about their activities and achievements, which very often are exaggerated and not true reflections of their achievements. The reports were commonly prepared by the operating staff and senior administrators, and usually include heads of continuation and evaluation departments at all secretariats, to give testimony on the achievement ratio of their own policy area. These

people are career officials who are officially responsible for measuring the achievement of the implemented policies of their own activity. They are the administrators and technocrats or the insiders who have detailed information about what is involved in delivering the policy programmes and any points which were not foreseen at the policy design stage.

Site visits have also been conducted by teams from the POMC, which constituted staff with knowledge in the deliverables such as construction, contracts and legal aspects and other related issues of the implemented policies. However, the staff do not have much knowledge in policy evaluation. This office, as mentioned above, was established to follow up the government agencies and all policy implementers and prepare appraisal reports on their performance in implementing selected policies. Its reports are usually more transparent than those produced by the government agencies. The POMC submits its reports to the GPC as a legislative body, which is responsible for following up and questioning the government about their performance in policy implementation.

In addition, site visits were also conducted by selected groups of experts appointed by the NPCouncil to carry out inspections in the field and pick up impressionistic data about the government achievements. The groups also review the expenditures reported by each sector and compare with the actual achievements observed from the site visits. The outcome of their activity in the policy evolution is assessment reports about the performance of the government agencies in the implementation of the selected policies. The assessment reports are presented by these groups are sent to the NPCouncil for consideration in its ordinary meetings. The NPCouncil also receives periodical reports from the Planning and Financial Secretariat (PFS) from its monitoring of expenditures in each policy area. In accordance with the Executive Act of the Law 13/2002, the PFS, is the responsible body for granting authorisations for the financial amounts that were approved for the implementation of the

selected policies. It is also responsible for monitoring and following up the implementation of the decided allocations and aspects of public spending on each project (Code of Legislations, 2002). Therefore, its reports usually display how and where the allocated finances were used including the percentage spent in each policy programme and area.

The assessment reports prepared by the three bodies - government agencies, the POMC and the NPCouncil- are sent to the GPC for consideration and making comments and recommendations. The latter as the final outcomes of the evaluation can be utilised in terms of feedback, which could lead to diverse patterns of policy-learning, which may help the Libyan governments to terminate their policies and develop new ones or refine and improve the existing policies. The activities and actors involved in the policy evaluation are illustrated in Figure 6.8.

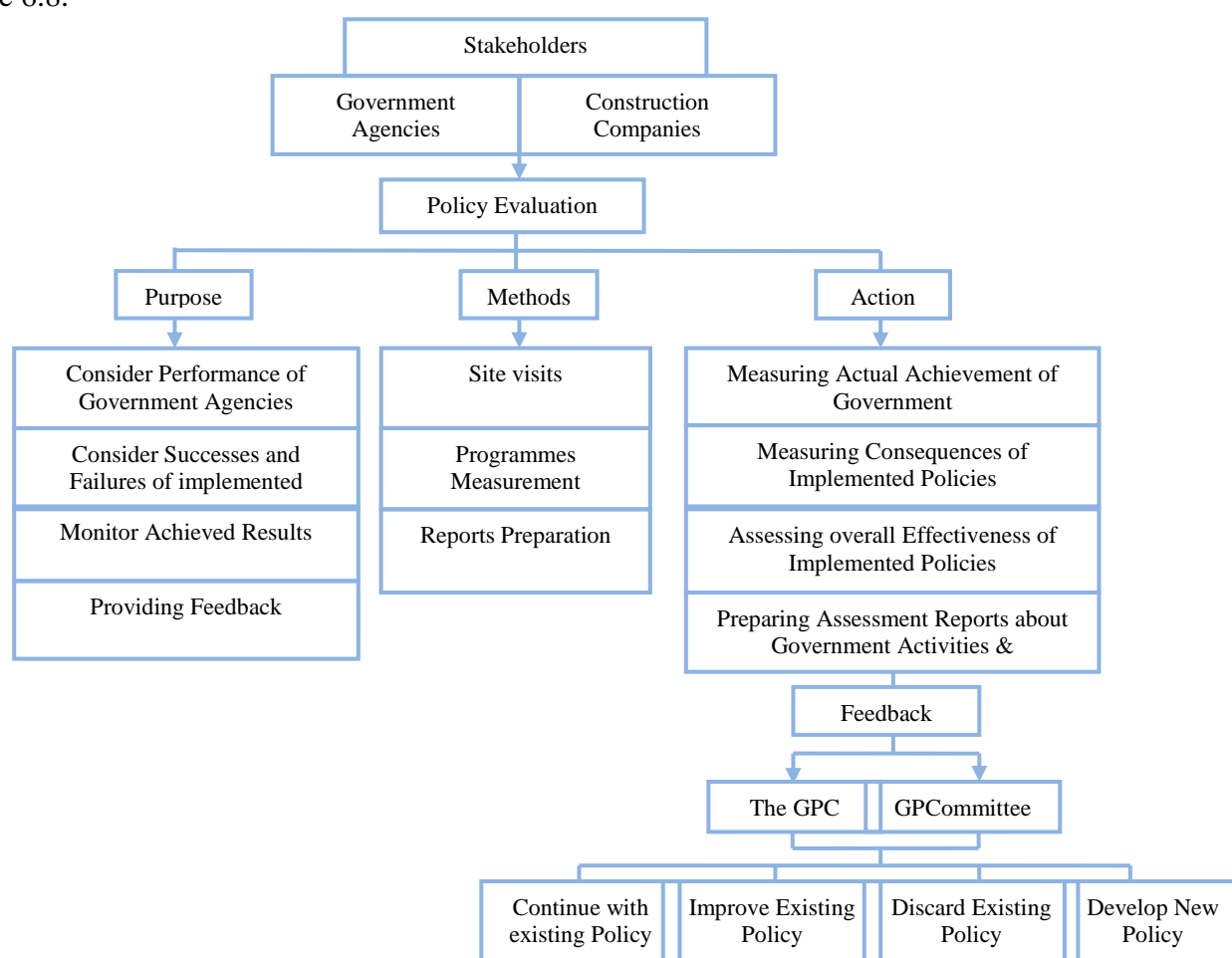


Figure 6.6: Stages and Actors Involve in Policy Evaluation
Source: Compiled by the author from the empirical collected data

Evaluation Reports

The evaluation reports, as found in this research, were routinely prepared by the career officials and operating staff. This was done by gathering information about the implemented policies in order to check whether they have achieved their goals or not, and whether they made effects on the society or not. The UE, the HES and the UE also stressed that a proper evaluation should measure the impact of the implemented policies and the actual changes occurring in the society as a result of policy intervention, and not just what the government actually delivered in terms of benefits or services to satisfy public demands. They also suggested that appropriate methods and skilled people as evaluators should be selected to specify how the information obtained from the evaluation can be utilised for feedback operation. The later, as the DEC stated, may aid the government as the main implementer of the selected policies to improve and continue with the existing policies or to terminate them and develop new ones. But, the research findings and other government documents demonstrated that the produced reports typically presented statistic information about the government achievements in terms of numbers and percentages using professional measures and standards developed by international organisations. They contain number of schools, hospitals, public employees, policy officers, houses as well as number of students and pupils per class and teachers, number of beds, doctors, nurses per patients, etc.

In fact, the statistic information is usually expressed as a desirable level of ideal benefits and services that should be provided to the society. They do not indicate what the real impact of these numbers are on the society, in other words, they do not show if the effects of the implemented policies or programmes are felt by the target people or groups. They only showed the outputs of the implemented policies as the final products of government activity. Therefore, they focus on policy outputs not on policy impact, because the measures of policy

impact reveal changes in the society that are associated with government activity. This fact is supported by the majority of the respondent who stated that the implemented policies in Libya have only been reviewed in terms of the actual achievements of the government. In addition, these reports and measures are not objective means for policy evaluation, because data provided by government agencies themselves mainly reflect the public investments or expenditures in terms of numbers per programme or target group. These numbers usually magnify the achievements and benefits of their policy and under state their costs. Thus, the evaluation of the implemented policies in Libya was inadequate to measure the actual policy impacts.

The proper assessment usually is carried out to feed relevant information back into the initiation, formulation and implementation processes, which assists in generating and developing new policy proposals and or refining and improving an existing policy. The research findings demonstrated that although some official evaluation has been carried out, a total absence of effective evaluation of the implemented policies is obvious in Libya. This happened due to the total absence of a professional body for policy analysis and evaluation, and a lack of policy analysts and specialised skills for a proper policy evaluation. This situation has led to a lack of feedback information and a bad state of feedback operation which is required to provide the government with information which may help it to wisely consider its implemented policies and take decisions whether or not to terminate and develop new policies or to improve and continue with the existing ones. Therefore, the evaluation stage is the final activity which completes the cycle of the Libyan policy process practice. Figure 6.9., illustrates the entire Libyan policy process including the financial resources as the main tool of implementing the selected policies.

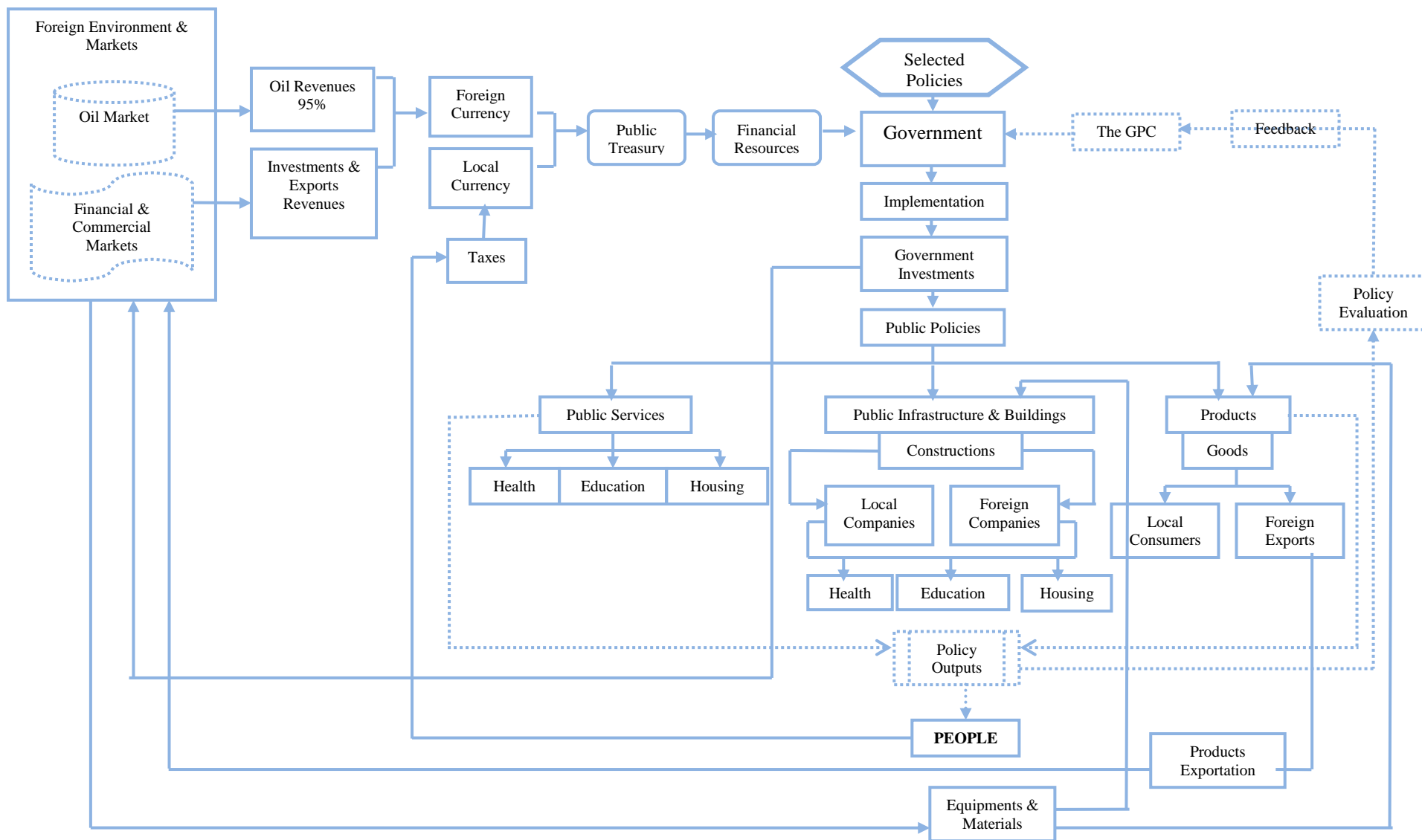


Figure 6.7: Financial Resources & Policy Process Practice in Libya

6.4 Factors Affecting the Libyan Policy Process

The research results show that some implemented policies in Libya have failed to perfectly achieve their objectives due to certain defects which occurred at the different stages of the policy process. Such failures were experienced when various programmes and projects are not implemented as they have been planned; some of them were cancelled and others reprogrammed into subsequent plans. From above discussions certain factors could be identified as responsible for the defects in the various stages of the Libyan policy process practice. These factors can be classified as illustrated in Figure 6.10 into four main categories namely external, financial, technical, and institutional and administrative.

External Factors

The external factors mainly refer to the international oil markets and prices as well as the two foreign sanctions the USA sanctions in 1980 and the UN in 1992 that were lifted in 2003. These had caused a reduction in the oil production rates in Libya and increase the oil production cost as well as affected tremendously the state treasury. This situation led the government to experience some financial difficulties in funding its policies adequately in particular from foreign currency, which mainly came from oil revenues. This became apparent when the sanctions were lifted and the oil revenues increased leading to the availability of huge funds, therefore the capital budget and the government expenditures has since been on the increase. As the public treasury was largely financed from oil revenues, any drop in oil prices would directly affect the finances of the selected policies.

Financial Factors

The financial factors are interrelated to the external factors, and they refer to lack of funds resulting from the tremendous collapse of the oil prices and the two sanctions imposed on Libya. Since its development in 1961, oil revenues have been the principal sources of

financing for the government's selected policies. Also, there has been a heavy dependence on state treasury in particular foreign currency to fund selected policies, therefore the great reduction in oil revenues significantly affected the funding of selected policies. The stringent and complex financial controlling system also constitute financial factor. Despite the increase in the oil revenues after the sanctions were lifted in 2003, the financial allocations of the selected policies had not been properly provided from the public treasury. The complexity of the financial controlling system delayed the liquidation of the disbursed funds hence causing delay in or cancelation of the implementation of many selected programmes, because their proposed allocations were not liquidated from the public treasury.

Technical Factors

The technical factors affect the initiation, implementation and evaluation stages of the policy process. At the initiation stage, the adoption of the overambitious objectives and deciding overloaded agenda are the main factors that affect the implementation of the selected policies in appropriate way. This happened due to the poor knowledge held by the BPCs as legislative bodies about the technical and financial capacity of the government. In many occasions, the BPCs decide unspecified and general statements of policy demands to be provided that were over the capacity of the government.

The implementation of the selected policies is the actualisation stage at which the selected policies are put into effect by taking the preferred course of action to convert policy intentions into action. It is the stage of putting public demands in reality and processing decided policy into policy outputs in terms of public services, buildings and infrastructure. The success or failure of any policy largely depends on how well it is implemented. It is not surprising therefore that this stage is affected by more factors than any of the other stages. The changing of policy objectives and priorities during implementation is the main identified

factor that affects the implementation of the selected policies. In some occasions, new programmes and projects were introduced by the government and given a priority in their implementation, although they were not existed in the original policy plan items. This situation led to re-distribution or reduction of the plans' decided allocations. In some cases, the original plan contents and objectives are reconsidered, leading to cutting back government expenditures and projects funding. The consequence of these actions is reflected in the final outputs which differ from the intended objectives defined at the formulation stage.

The selection of the inappropriate implemented means is another influencing factor at the implementation stage. The implementation of the many selected policies in particular construction projects that related to the development of the buildings and infrastructure requires high skills and technology which could not simply be met domestically. Therefore, international construction companies were hired through a selection process using a set of criteria. The tender committee considered all bids presented by the foreign companies to select the satisfactory ones among them. However, the selection criteria and process for the implementers are often marred by lack of transparency, with some companies being selected based on political reasons rather than their capacity to deliver. Some companies were imposed by a higher authority, and some others employed unethical means to secure a place as one of the implementers. In addition, since 1990s, the Libyan government started to encourage the Local Construction Companies (LCCs) -private and public- by employing their services in implementing small scale projects. Unfortunately, these companies are characterised with inadequate experiences and ability, lack of technology and technical capacity, lack of skilled labours and lack of financial capacity. In addition to this, these companies abused the system by engaging in embezzlement of funds, or seeking to benefit from differences official and the black markets foreign exchange prices when imported construction materials and equipment were large. The lack of the government's commitment

to contractual agreements with foreign companies is one of the obtrusive factors in the implementation process. The government breaches the terms of agreements with the contractors, especially in relation to terms of payments (currency and timeliness), thus causing delay in accomplishing their contracts. This situation led to many foreign companies to withdraw from Libya, and those that stayed received a smaller share of the available contracts.

Evaluation is concerned with the assessment of the implemented policies, including the measurement of their impacts on a society in order to identify their interim effects and results. The assessment usually is carried out by using different methods to feed relevant information back into the initiation and formulation processes, which assists in generating new policies, or refining and improving existing ones. Policy evaluation therefore, considers the success and failure of the implemented policies in order to help policy-makers to decide whether to continue with, rectify, or discard the selected policy. The evaluation of the implemented policies in Libya is characterised by insufficient feedback information and a bad state of feedback operation due to the total absence of specialised evaluating bodies, skilled policy analysts and the use of limited evaluation methods, although, there are different methods and techniques for policy evaluation. The implemented policies were evaluated by using only site visits, programme measures and preparing periodical reports about the actual achievements ratios of the government. The sites visits were occasionally carried out to selected schemes by teams from the government itself, to measure the achievement ratios of their own implemented policies, than produce periodical reports about their activities and achievements. These reports are very often exaggerated and not true reflections of their achievements. They typically presented statistic information in terms of numbers and percentages by using professional standards developed by international organisations. The statistic information did

not indicate what the real impact of these numbers was on the society. They only showed the outputs of the implemented policies as the final products of government activity.

Institutional and Administrative Factors

In addition to the external, the finance and the technical factors, the institutional and administrative structures were also found to influence the policy process. It is through the functions of the institutional and administrative structures that policies are initiated, formulated, implemented and evaluated. Therefore, any instability in and changes to the functions or settings of these structures is usually reflected directly in the policy process. In Libya, the merger of or complete abolition of public institutions is very common practice, and this causes lack of continuity and a waste of time and resources without achieving targets also this is further compounded by the lack of proper communication channels between different government agencies. Changes to administrative procedures are also common, like the adoption of annual budget method for policy preparation in place of the comprehensive central planning method as an appropriate method for policy preparation. There is also the issue of gross mismanagement in the public institutions, where funds and available resources are used inefficiently. In addition to structural and administrative issues, legislative factors were also seen to be existent in Libya. some legislations, especially those related to the National urban planning system were deterrent to implementation of policies in the sense that they made it difficult, if not impossible to make construction lands and materials available in some cases, these legislations prohibited the development of certain areas of interest either because of historical, industrial, agriculture, environmental reasons, or to discourage over population of such area in particular in the capital, and to encourage the development of other regions.

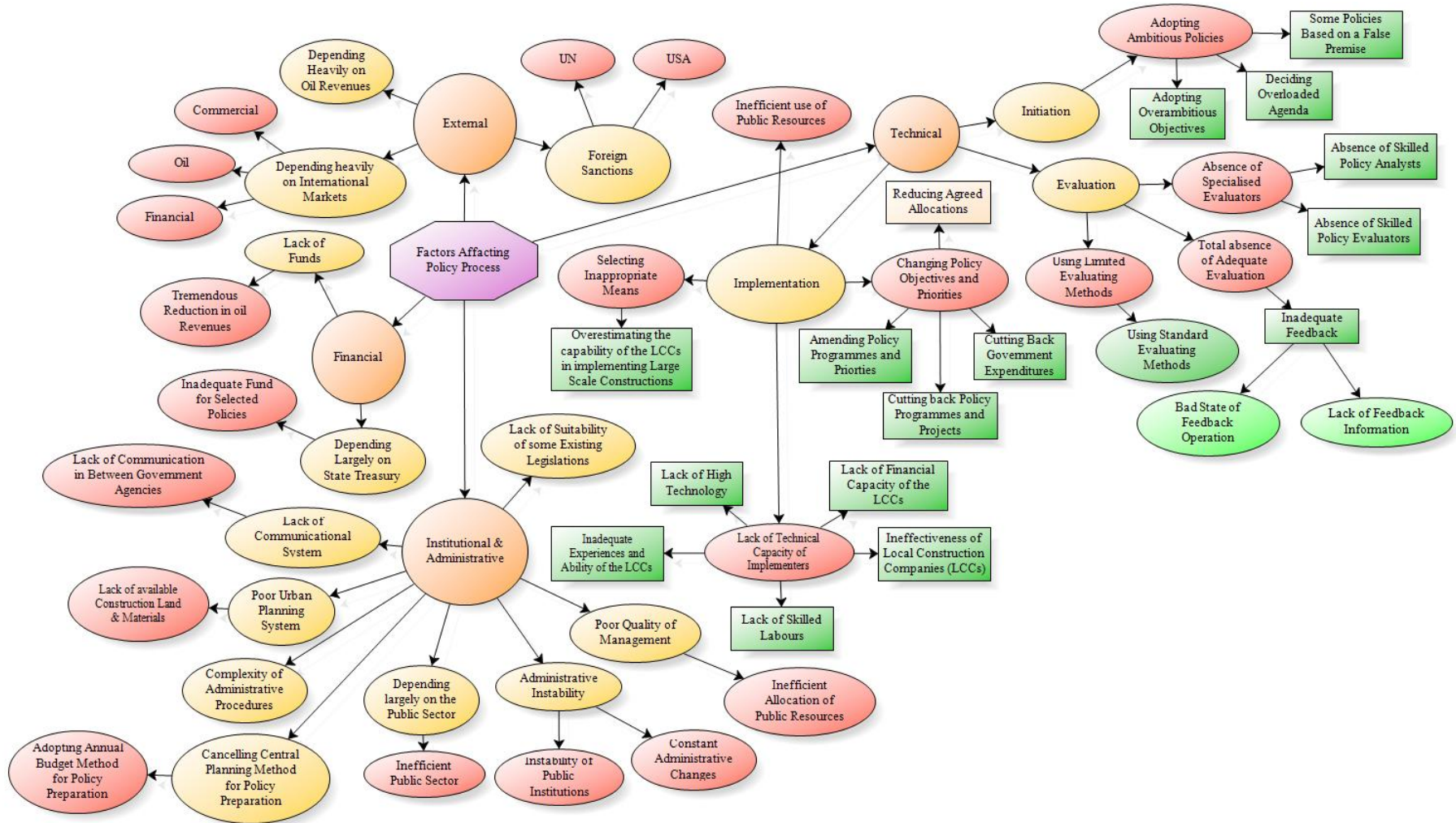


Figure 6.8: Factors Affecting the Libyan Policy Process

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research findings within the case study undertaken, which were collected from different sources of evidence including the semi-structured interviews, literature and documents review. It discussed the findings and linked them with the conceptual framework developed from the literature. The discussion is extended to the aim and objectives of this research to examine whether or not they have been achieved. The basis of this discussion is to grasp the similarities and contradictions between the policy process, activities and actors as identified in the developed conceptual framework and the practice of the policy process in Libya as found from this research. This gave an opportunity to discuss any issues that may emerge from the case studies finding, which has not predicted.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to summarise the main concerns and major conclusions of this study. This research has examined the Libyan actual practice of the policy process and undertook an empirical study to add to the domain of knowledge on the subject which is currently ill-defined and not well-documented. The research attempted to achieve its aim and objectives through the development of the conceptual framework by which the policy process practice in Libya and in other countries, that have similar political characteristics, can be examined. The research process has satisfied and fulfilled the research objectives, and answered the research questions. Finally, the work has made a number of possible contributions to knowledge, and has the potential to support more effort related to the effectiveness of the policy process practice. Recommendations and suggestions for further work are also addressed in this chapter.

7.2 Research Summary

This study focused on the examination of the actual practice of the policy process in Libya, and compared it with the policy process as defined in the developed conceptual framework. This was done by investigating how selected policies in Libya were developed, implemented and evaluated as well as how efficiently funds and available resources were allocated among policy objectives and programmes in each policy area. The various activities of how the processes are formulated, implemented and evaluated were investigated, and the key stakeholders involved in these processes were also identified in order to determine characteristics of these processes, and to identify factors

affecting their effectiveness in achieving policy objectives appropriately. The investigation was mainly focused on the policy process practice since the establishment of the Jamahiriya System in 1977 until February 2011, when the Libyan uprising began, which put the country in a state of uncertainty regarding political structure through which the policy process can be examined. The examination of the policy process in Libya was prompted by a lack of information about it (policy process) and the lack of previous detailed research concerned with this subject, which, despite being in place, is still ill-defined and not well-documented. This insufficiency is apparent from the very limited number of published materials, absence of professional public policy journals, lack of public policy research centres and institutes, limitation of teaching modules of public policy in Libyan Universities, and scarcity of public policy workshops and conferences.

In carrying out this research certain objectives (see Chapter 1.5) were identified to facilitate the achievement of the main aim, the phenomenological paradigm was adopted in terms of philosophical assumptions. The selection was made due to the nature of the research focus that is the examination of the policy process through which selected policies are developed and implemented, as well as understanding perceptions, behaviours and activities of people involved in this process. Being fundamentally concerned with the nature of reality in the social world, this research seemed to be more descriptive and explanatory in nature. This means that the study cannot be approached from the exterior standpoint demanded by the positivist paradigm. Therefore, this selection helped the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of the complex human interaction and activities of human actors who were involved in the policy process within

the Libyan political organisational structures over an extended period of time. The process and the individuals involved were identified as the main unit of analysis. A single case study was selected as an appropriate strategy for explorative and descriptive analysis to show different perspectives on the issue under consideration.

A triangulation of data collection and analysis was used in this study. Primary and secondary data were collected from different sources including literature, documents review and interviews. Therefore, these proved to be useful sources of information in helping to achieve the research aim and objectives, addressing the research questions, and achieving a higher degree of the research validity and reliability. Data collected from literature was used to develop the conceptual framework needed to examine the practice of the Libyan policy process. Documents review was used as an additional and a complementary source of data collection. These official documents relating to public policy in Libya were scrutinised to provide an account on the Libyan political structures through which selected policies have been developed, implemented and appraised. Documents relating to the government policy plans were also reviewed to demonstrate the discrepancies between stated objectives and the actual implementation.

The interviews, on the other hand, were conducted to collect empirical data about the actual practices of the policy process in Libya. This allowed to gain information about how the selected policies in Libya have been developed and processed into outputs through certain processes, and the principal actors involved in. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were designed and carried out with key people from different sectors and government agencies who have been involved in the public

policy process. The purpose was to gather their perceptions, views, ideas and thoughts about how public policy process in Libya was developed, implemented and evaluated, and who were the principal actors involved. The interviews and the official documents reviews were useful in identifying the main factors affecting the policy process. The research objectives and data collection sources used to achieve these objectives are illustrated in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: The Research Objectives and Data Collection Techniques used to Achieve the Objectives

Research objectives	Data Collection Sources		
	Literature Review	Official Documents	Semi-structured Interviews
Develop a conceptual framework by which public policy process in Libya can be examined	✓		
Explore the mechanism of the Libyan political structures through which policy ideas and issues have been generated, defined and processed into various public policies	✓	✓	
Investigate how the selected policies in Libya have been developed, implemented and evaluated, and identify the principal participants involved in the entire policy process			✓
Demonstrate the differences between the policy objectives set in action plan and the implementation and achievements		✓	✓
Compare the actual practice of the Libyan policy process with the policy process as developed in the conceptual framework	✓		✓
Identify the main factors affecting public policy process in Libya in achieving stated policy goals		✓	✓

Collected data was analysed by using matrix format and cognitive mapping. Matrix format was used to display and reduce data to manageable size. It also enabled to identify and categorise the common themes, issues, topics and concepts gathered from the interviews. Cognitive mapping or mapping process was also used to present data aimed at showing the relationship between the identified issues, ideas and concepts in order to

enhance the understanding and analysis of the findings. Collected data was transcribed, collated, classified into meaningful categories and displayed in matrices and mapping formats to be readily accessible for the process of analysis. The data analysis was done through the use of conceptualisation, and presented in detailed textual analysis in a logical order.

7.3 Achievement of the Research Aim and Objectives

The research aim and objectives have been met using a qualitative case study strategy. The aim of this research was to examine the practice of the policy process in Libya, by comparing it with the policy process as defined in the developed conceptual framework. The accomplishment of this aim required the identification and fulfilment of a set of objectives (see Chapter 1.4). The specific objectives of this research were defined as follows:

7.3.1 The Conceptual Framework

The development of a conceptual framework –as illustrated in Figure 2.7 in Chapter 2– by which the policy process in Libya can be examined was the research first objective. It was achieved by conducting a comprehensive review of the literature in the area of public policy study, policy analysis and policy process. The framework was developed by reviewing existing definitions of public policy in order to grasp the precise meaning of the concept and the policy process by which governments take actions to relate policy objectives to expected outputs. Policy concept has been defined, and its confines from other related terms have been determined. It was conceived to be much wider in scope

and longer than decision, objective, strategy, programme and project. This concept was defined as a course of action, a government activity and the outputs of the political process. The outputs are only the ends of government products, which require long time, cluster decisions and tortuous processes. Hence much emphasis was put in reviewing the policy process in order to develop the conceptual framework. The latter was used to determine the main concepts, issues and themes of the study, and how these are interrelated. It was developed with the intention of guiding the researcher in determining and examining the practice of the policy process in Libya's case. The policy process, as defined in the framework, has been developed over a long period of time and typically broken down into four distinct stages: initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation. And it is through these processes that policy ideas and issues are generated, defined, developed and processed into policy outputs. The conceptual framework also showed that each of these (processes) can be regarded as a distinctive type of government activity which involves various activities and actors.

7.3.2 Institutional Springboard/Political Structures

The understanding of the mechanism of the Libyan political structures, through which policy ideas and issues were developed and processed into public policies, was the second objective assigned to this study. To understand how the Libyan political structures were operating to produce selected policies, official documentations and other government archival materials such as code of legislation, ministerial brochures, and government reports were reviewed. This review demonstrated that the political structure, at different levels, have all played diverse roles in the policy process of Libya. Since the

establishment of the republic in 1969, a range of transformations have occurred in the country's political structures. These resulted in dissolving all pre-existing forms of political and administrative structures, and replacing them with new structures in which people could participate in the policy-decision process. The transformations, which lasted for a decade, led to the establishment of new political and administrative structures in March 1977, known as the Jamahiriya System (people's congresses or 'state of the masses'), meaning the people should govern themselves free of any constraints, especially those of the modern bureaucratic state. Within these structures, the General People Congress (GPC) was created as a 'national parliament', and all legislative authorities were technically vested in it. The General People Committee (GPCCommittee) was also established as the government 'executive body' replacing the Council of Ministers. The new structures represented the framework within which the policy process was carried out along with the principal participants involved in this process. The Jamahiriya System was set up through the creation of the Basic People's Congress (BPCs); a body entrusted with the ultimate political authority. Within the BPCs citizens were given an opportunity to participate in the deliberation of their own policy affairs.

The establishment of the National Planning Council (NPCouncil) in 1998 was also one of the most important institutions –acting like a think tank with policy planning and preparation responsibilities– involved in the policy process. Representing various academic, social and economic sectors, its members were professionals in their field of expertise. Working closely with other institutions, be they governmental or academic, the NPCouncil identified problems in the society and developed policy issues and proposals

in different areas. In many occasions, it proposed new bills or amendments to existing legislation and submit them to the GPC for consideration.

7.3.3 Policies and Actors

The third objective concerned the development, implementation and evaluation of the selected policies in Libya and the principal participants in the policy process. This objective was attained through the conduct of semi-structured interviews with officials from different government agencies (health, education, and so forth) to gain detailed information about the practice of the Libyan policy process. This was conducted via four main processes namely initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation; and each one involved a range of activities and actors.

Initiation

This is a stage, at which policy ideas and issues were identified and developed, and policy agenda was set. The identification of policy ideas involved the understanding of the expressed public demands, which could be new services or improving existing ones and suggesting bills ideas or amending existing acts. These policy ideas determined in a general statement of principal issues in different policy areas, including foreign and domestic matters. The agenda setting is a collection of various determined bills and issues, which have been placed on the agenda after passing through a process of consideration, disposition, reviewing, compilation, and classification. The policy initiation stages were carried out by various people including the BPCs, GPCCommittee,

Trade Unions and Syndicates (TUSs), the GPCouncil, the Leader of the Revolution (LoR), the GPC and the GS of the GPC.

Since their establishment in 1977, the BPCs have become the principal means by which policy ideas are generated, defined and developed into policy issues. These congresses were formed of all citizens who lived in the same locality area and were registered as members of the congress in their area/ward. The BPC was the lowest unit in the Libyan administrative and political hierarchy and each BPC could consist of a number of communes. Every BPC selected a secretariat among its members to lead the congress and a Local People Committee 'LPC' to administer and supervise all public services within its boundaries. The BPCs usually held two ordinary sessions, and may also hold extraordinary sessions to discuss particular issues as necessary needs arise from the society. In the first meeting, policy ideas were generated and issues in different policy areas of public were defined. The agreed issues are brought to the GPC as a complete sheet of policy issues for consideration and approval. In many occasions, the BPCs' decisions were typically unspecified and general statements of policy demands, which can be seen as general guidelines of developing issues. In this case, the GS of the GPC collected such issues, filtered and classified them. Then a professional committee is designated to consider, define and determine the issues to be submitted to the GS of the GPC as final issues.

The TUSs have, since 1977, been treated as a formal body and part of the political authority and given full recognition to engage in the policy process. Through their

congresses, they have tackled their problems and expressed their views and demands, which were taken by their general secretaries to the GPC for consideration and final decision.

The GPCCommittee, as an executive body, was a responsible for tackling any existing policy problems and determining policy issues, and then bringing them to the GPC as important issues for consideration. These were more specified than those presented by the BPCs because they were defined and determined by professionals and experts who have detailed information and knowledge of their respective sectors.

The NPCouncil, established in 1998 as an expertise body of policy planning and preparation, has engaged in considering the exiting policy needs in the society. It defined, developed and determined policy issues by setting guidelines for developing policy issues for the problems under consideration. Most of these issues were technical and should be considered by the professionals who have special knowledge and ability to define and develop them. The activities of the NPCouncil involved conducting studies about matters on public concern and organising seminars for all relevant people who have specialised information and knowledge to discuss and develop policy issues. It also proposed new bills and amendments of existing acts that need to be addressed.

The establishment of the Jamahiriya System in 1977 saw the creation of the new position of the Leader of the Revolution (LoR) as an informal body in the political structure. The LoR, as the original founder of the Jamahiriya System, and because of his large and long political experience as a head of the state, was considered a master, thinker and mentor to

the people congresses and people committees. As such he had a great influence on the policy initiation, with his ideas, suggestions and directives; all of which were honoured and regarded as very imperative issues to be taken into account by both the PBCs and the GPC. His ideas, suggestions and directives were always attentively addressed as policy issues and given top priority on the agenda. Therefore, this negating all the democratic process.

Defined issues and bills presented by the BPCs, the TUSs, the GPCCommittee, the NPCouncil and the LoR were reviewed, classified and placed on the agenda. Occasionally, a number of issues were presented, which cannot simply be considered in one session because the capacity of the policy agenda was limited and the limitation of the state annual budget. Therefore, the GS of the GPC determined the agenda items. Some issues that failed to reach the agenda the first time were not ignored, but carried over to the next session. The agenda typically contained eight main items: the LoR's hints and directives, activities reports of the government agencies, bills, general matters, domestic issues, issues related to foreign policy, activities reports of the controlling and monitoring bodies, and finally the questioning of the government. The determined agenda became valid after approval by the GPC. Once, approved, the agreed agenda serves as a basis for the development of policy proposals to be sent afterwards to the NPCouncil for formulation.

Formulation

Policy formulation usually involves thorough consideration of the issues decided upon and determining the most suitable action(s) to be taken. It is the translation of broad

proposals into specific and concise statements of policy objectives and programmes, and the allocation of the necessary resources required to achieve the intended aims. In Libya, the output of the formulation stage was the design of a policy plan, providing an appropriate response to the public demands. The formulation of the selected policies was fundamentally performed through the activities of the NPCouncil which, upon receiving the agreed agenda, appoints two specialised and professional committees for developing policy proposals and designing policy plans. One of the committees, known as the Coordinated Committee (CC), was chaired by the secretary of the policy area under consideration or by the Secretary General of the NPCouncil. The CC was responsible for considering developed and formulated proposals by another committee, called the Technical Committees (TC), and coordinated between these committees and the Sector Plan Committee (SPC). The TC was headed by the Under-Secretary of the area under consideration. The SPC was headed by the Director of Planning, and was responsible for preparing the sector's policy plan in coordination with the TC. Through this process of coordination, the selected policies were formulated and put into action plan via four main stages: developing policy proposal, preparing policy proposal, formulating policy proposal and considering formulated policy plan.

The development of proposal started with collecting and analysing information about issues under consideration from all government agencies, public institutions and research centres. Since these are members of the NPCouncil, they must provide the council regularly with all necessary information. Information was also collected by holding series of seminars and discussions with organisations and experts. Collected information was

analysed, filtered and validated for use in preparing policy proposals, which is the main action of designing the policy plan. It involved surveying the existing economic and financial situations, that is the available and expected income from taxes and oil revenues, and setting a detailed statement of policy objectives and programmes. Oil revenues are the main financial source for funding the government selected policies, and any fluctuation in oil prices is usually considered in the calculation of expected income during the period of the plan. The setting of detailed statement (policy objectives) facilitated the stage of formulating and drafting policy plan. It involved the identification of policy strategies, objectives, programmes and projects, as well as total investments, and the allocations for each programme. These are the principal elements of developing policy proposal and which are eventually shaped into policy plan. The drafted policy plan had to be handed to the CC for checking and deliberation to ensure its compliance with the general guidelines and the plan's framework.

At this point, amendments were made, and the draft was returned to the TC for reconsideration. The TC reviews the contents of the plan and reconsiders the financial allocations for each programme and project in accordance with the CC's new recommendations. Some policy objectives and priorities may be re-ordered or cut down or completely cancelled in line with the amendments made by the CC. In this case, the TC collaborates closely with the SPC to re-draft the new plan and then forward it to the CC for further consideration and endorsement.

After acknowledging the amended plan by the CC, it is sent to the NPCouncil to be discussed in its following meeting. Yet before its discussion by the Council, it is reviewed and endorsed by the GPCCommittee. Once the final draft approved by the NPCouncil, it is transferred to the GPC for final consideration and approval, which is the fourth and last stage of the policy formulation. Following this step, the plan becomes validated selected policies, and the GS of the GPC sends them to the GPCCommittee for implementation.

Two groups of actors, comprising the administrators and the politicians, played a joint role in formulating selected policies. They work closely with each other through continuous communication and acting together as members of the NPCouncil, the CCs, the TCs and the PSCs. Thus selected policies are formulated through a joint and a circular flow of interaction, inter-change of roles and chain of processes between these actors.

Implementation

The implementation of the selected policies is a responsibility of the GPCCommittee as the government of the state. It is responsible for considering how to put the selected policies into effect. This was done through four main stages: prioritising and programming decided policies, identifying implementing agencies and implementers, allocating necessary funds among the implementers and finally monitoring the activities of the implementers. The prioritisation and programming of the implementing programmes were carried out by selecting/appointing a professional working group in each sector. Each group determined criteria and set a statement of the prioritised

implementing programmes and projects, and the most appropriate means to implement them in order to facilitate the delivery of the needed service, infrastructure and buildings, and the necessary goods to satisfy public demands in each policy area.

Once the statement was handed to the sector secretary and endorsed, the group proceeded to the second stage, which is the identification of the implementers. It considered all available means including government agencies and local and foreign construction companies and selected the most appropriate means for achieving the prioritised implementing programmes. The implementation of some aspects of the selected policies only need legislative and administrative actions such as issuing new acts or amending existing ones, establishing new government bodies or improving the performance of the existing ones and the existing services. For other, particularly those related to physical developments such as building of roads, houses, schools, hospitals, telecommunication network, utilities and infrastructure the services of the construction companies were required. In this case tender committee was appointed for selection of competent companies. The committee developed appropriate criteria and specifications for interested companies to meet before publicly inviting them to tender. The selected policies typically contain huge large scale programmes and projects in different policy areas, and their implementation requires high-levels of technologies, professional skills and specialised equipments. These requirements could not simply be met domestically; thereby the country relies largely on international service providers. So, the committee considered all bids presented by the foreign companies and selected the satisfactory ones

among them. Also, the local public companies were engaged for their services but only for small scale projects.

The allocation of resources among implementers is the third stage in the policy implementation. In this stage, the disbursement of allocated funds was provided by Public Treasury. The respective sectors sent the totals of selected tenders to the Planning and Financial Secretariat (PFS) to granting authorisations for funds to be provided to the selected implementers. Payments were made to the implementers according to the agreed payment schedule. During the implementation of the selected policies, the government followed-up on the implementers and monitored their activities. It reviewed the implementation ratios in order to measure the achieved results and to determine the efficiency and the effectiveness of the implemented policies. This has been carried out through the activities of the GPCCommittee and a range of different government agencies, and operating staff.

Evaluation

The evaluation of the implemented policies was carried with a view to identifying any failures and gaps that occur between the planned objectives and the actual attainments. It started after the selected policies have been put into effect by measuring the achievement ratios of the implemented policies. Therefore, three main methods were utilised: site visits to field work, programme measures and preparing periodical reports about the actual achievements ratios. The sites visits were occasionally conducted by the implementing government agencies to selected schemes of their own activity. The

outcome of their visits was the production of periodical reports about their own activities, which very often were exaggerated and not true reflections of their real achievements. The reports were commonly prepared by the operating staff and career officials to give testimony on the achievement ratios of their own policy area.

Site visits were also carried out by operating staff from the People's Office for Monitoring and Controlling (POMC), which was established to follow up all government agencies and prepare reports on their performance in implementing the policies embarked upon. The POMC's reports were prepared by staff with knowledge in the deliverables such as construction, contracts and legal aspects and other related issues of the implemented policies. Therefore they were more transparent than those produced by the government agencies themselves. Financial statements were also provided regularly by the Planning and Financial Secretariat (PFS) on government expenditures in each policy area. The PFS' statements displayed how and where the allocated finances were used, including the percentage spent in each policy programme and area. Apart from the PFS, the POMC and the government agencies, selected groups of experts appointed by the NPCouncil also carried out inspections in the field to measure the government achievements. The groups also reviewed the expenditure statements provided by each sector, and compared them with the PFS's statements and the actual achievements observed during the site visits. These groups prepared assessment reports and hand them to the NPCouncil for consideration. All evaluation reports of the four bodies – government agencies, the POMC, the NPCouncil and the PFS – were sent to the General

Secretary of the General People Congress (GSGPC), which in turn presented them to the GPC for consideration and taking actions in its ordinary session.

The produced reports typically presented statistical information about the government achievements. The statistical information did not measure the real impact on the society. They only showed the outputs of the implemented policies as the final products of the government activity. A proper evaluation should measure the actual changes occurring in the society as a result of policy intervention, and not just what the government actually delivered in terms of benefits or services to satisfy public demands. These reports and measures were not objective means for policy evaluation because the data provided by the government tended to magnify the achievements and benefits of the implemented policies and while minimising their costs. Thus, the evaluation of the implemented policies in Libya was inadequate to determine the actual policy impacts. In addition, the proper assessment is usually carried out to feed relevant information back into the initiation, formulation and implementation processes, which assist in generating and developing new policies and/or refining and improving existing ones to help policy-makers to decide whether to continue with, rectify, or discard the selected policy. What was obvious is the fact that the official evaluation carried out in Libya was not an effective one. This was because of a lack of a professional body and specialised skills capable/able of carrying out a proper evaluation. This situation led to a bad state of feedback operation.

The evaluation stage is the final activity which completes the cycle of the practice of the Libyan policy processes, which are initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation. From this perspective, the Libyan policy process practice is almost the same as that defined in the developed conceptual framework, involving policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation. Each process was examined as a distinctive type of government activity which involved various activities and actors. The Libyan policy process practice showed that many policy issues were thrown open to public debate before their formulation and approval. The selected policies were also formulated in terms of policy plan through central planning as an appropriate method was adopted for policy planning and preparation. Furthermore, the stages involved in the policy process rarely occurred in a step-by-step sequence; they often overlapped. Some of these overlaps were noticed between the implementation and the formulation processes. This was when during the policy design actions were taken to determine the proposed allocations for each programme and the means by which decided policies can be implemented. These actions clearly demonstrated a particular close relationship between the formulation of policy and its implementation. Another overlap was noticed between the implementation of the selected policies and their evaluation. The identification of the successes and failures of the selected policies started as the policies were being put into effect. The government followed-up on the implementers and monitored their activities. It reviewed the implementation ratios in order to measure the achieved results. This is clearly part of the evaluation activity, which considers what happens during and after the implementation of the selected policies in order to determine the efficiency and the effectiveness of the implemented policies.

Different actors, individuals and institutions were involved in different processes. The politicians and the administrators were in a dynamic interaction and a constant inter-communication in their joint task of converting input demands into policy outputs. Through a chain of processes between the two groups of actors, selected policies were formulated through the central planning. The task of designing programmes for policy typically belongs to the administrators and policy planners who have the relevant information and experience for that activity. The task of policy decisions, on the other hand, principally belongs to the politicians who are the secretaries and all government agencies and public institutions operate under their influence.

7.3.4 Factors Affecting the Policy Process

The practice of the Libyan policy process also showed that although the selected policies had been well planned, they still suffered from major defects in their implementation and evaluation thus affecting their effectiveness in achieving policy objectives appropriately. Internal and external factors were identified to be responsible for these defects. The external factors mainly refer to the international oil markets and fluctuating prices as well as the sanctions imposed by the United States in 1980 and the United Nations in 1992—both sanctions were lifted in 2003. These had caused a reduction in the oil production rates in Libya and increased the oil production costs, something which affected tremendously the state treasury. This situation led the government to experience some financial difficulties in funding its policies adequately, coming for the most part from oil revenues. The stringent and complex financial controlling system also constituted a

financial factor that delayed the liquidation of the disbursed funds. This caused delay in, or cancelation of, the implementation of many selected projects, because their proposed allocations were not authorised by the public treasury.

The internal factors referred to the technical, institutional and administrative structures. The technical factors affected the initiation, implementation and evaluation stages of the policy process. At the initiation stage, the adoption of the over-ambitious objectives and overloaded agenda are the main factors that affected the implementation of the selected policies. This happened due to the poor knowledge held by the Basic People Congresses, as legislative bodies, about the technical and financial capacity of the government. During the implementation of the selected policies, the frequent change of policy objectives and priorities and introduction of new programmes and projects were common practice. This situation led to re-distribution or reduction of the plans' decided allocations. The consequence of these actions is reflected in the final outputs which differ from the intended objectives defined at the formulation stage. Furthermore, the faulty selection process and criteria for choosing implementers affected policy implementation. These implementers were mainly the international construction companies who ideally should have been hired for the high skills and technology they have. However, most of these were imposed by a higher authority, and some others employed unethical means to secure a bid as one of the implementers. There was also, the issue of the government's lack of commitment to contractual agreements with foreign companies. The government showed poor commitment towards payments for services received, thus causing delay in accomplishing of projects. This also led to withdrawal of many foreign companies from

Libya. Apart from the foreign companies, the local construction companies were engaged in implementing small scale projects. These companies, however, lacked adequate experience, skilled labour and financial capacity to deliver. For those policies implemented, their evaluation was marked by insufficient feedback information and a bad state of feedback operation due to the total absence of specialised evaluating bodies, skilled policy analysts and the use of limited evaluation methods. The evaluation reports typically presented statistic information in terms of numbers and percentages by using professional standards developed by international organisations. The statistic information did not indicate what the real impact of these numbers was on the society. They only showed the outputs of the implemented policies as the final products of government activity.

The institutional and administrative structures were also found to influence the policy process. In Libya, the frequent merger of or complete abolition of public institutions and inadequate communication channels between different government agencies caused discontinuity and a waste of time and resources without fully achieving the planned targets. There is also the issue of bad management in the public institutions. This was also one of the institutional factors to which was combined the complexity of the administrative procedures, leading to inefficient use of the available resources as a result. Legislative factors were also seen to be existent in Libya, especially those related to the National Urban Planning System. In some cases, these legislations served as deterrent to the implementation of the selected policies in the sense that they prevented the availability of construction lands and materials. They also prevented the development of

certain areas of interest in order to discourage over-population of such areas in particular in the capital, or to encourage the development of other regions.

Since the uprising in 2011, the country entered an era marked by the collapse of the institutions and uncertainty as to its future. After the uprising in October 2012, a new government was established, albeit there are still security challenges confronting the country. Despite this, the study has relevance to the post-uprising situation, as an effective policy process will be essential as the country rebuilds politically, economically, and socially. Once the situation completely stabilises, the emerging government ought to be mindful of the deficiencies that marked the practices of the public policy process under former political regime—these are outlined in Chapter 6.5.

7.4 Research Contribution

The literature review revealed that there is no detailed research/scholarship concerned with the policy process in Libya, and where available, research has mainly focused on public expenditures and the influence of oil revenues on developing other economic activities. While this may help to understand the policy contents, it does not provide insight into the development of the policy process. A detailed research concerned with the policy process in Libya is useful in providing insight as to how the various policies have been developed and implemented. Such a study can be used for improving the practice of the policy process, which as discussed in Chapter 6.5, is often characterised by many weaknesses and is affected by various factors. Improving the practice of the policy process requires dealing with these weaknesses. It is only through an efficient

practice of policy process that selected policies can be developed and implemented, which in the end would ensure the provision of the necessary services for the population. Hence this research as the first academic study to address the policy process in Libya, intends to fill the gap in the existing literature. This will contribute to our understanding and knowledge about how the Libyan government and its institutional structures operate to produce public policies. Such contribution may also help in the development of this area of study in Libyan academic institutions, the implications of which could also enable the policy-makers to utilise effectively the available resources to achieve rapid social and economic change.

A conceptual framework was developed in Chapter 2.7 to examine the practice of the policy process in Libya. The framework can be used even by the new post-uprising government to analyse and evaluate the practice of the policy process in the country and the effectiveness of its selected and implemented policies. The newly-established government needs to consider the shortcomings that marked the practices of the public policy process under previous regime. This framework can also be useful for examining the practice of the policy process in other countries that share more-or-less similar characteristics. This means countries that had been directly and/or indirectly influenced economically, socially, culturally and politically by the colonial systems, leading to fragile and weak states. On the whole, the research outcomes can be used by the policy-makers to improve their practice of the policy process and the quality of their delivered policies.

7.5 Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Work

After the examination of the Libyan policy process practice, a number of recommendations and suggestions for further work ought to be made. As a matter of fact, various factors such as poor financing or lack thereof, poor planning, inappropriate legislations, inadequacy of professionals and so forth – mentioned earlier in this chapter 7.3.4 – were found to be responsible for the defects in the actual practice of the Libyan policy process. Some of these defects had even led to the abandonment of projects that the government initially started, but could not complete for lack of adequate resources. These resulted in wasted resources and time. It is therefore recommended that the factors identified in this study be taken on board by the current government in order to improve the efficiency of its policy process and avoid unnecessary waste of time and resources.

The study found weaknesses in the policy evaluation process because of the total absence of professional bodies and skilled people, dealing with policy analysis and evaluation. The existence of these bodies and professionals would provide a means for obtaining objective, independent and more realistic measurements of the impact of the implemented policies and the actual changes occurring in the society as a result of policy intervention. Such bodies would also provide relevant feedback to the policy-makers to assist them in policy decision-making at the various stages in the policy process (initiation, formulation and implementation). Therefore, it is recommended that specialist institutions tasked with evaluating and analysing the implemented policies be upgraded and restructured.

The study also showed that there was instability and lack of continuity in both structure

and functionality of public institutions. This was both detrimental to the performance of such institutions, and led to high inefficiencies in the use of available resources. For that reason, there is the need to ensure the stability of their functions and continuity in their activities, so that efficient use of the available resources and improved performance can be achieved.

Some of the legislations that governed the National Urban Planning System were found to be deterrent to policy implementation. These legislations either made construction lands and materials very scarce for developmental projects, or they prevented building up particular areas so as to discourage over population of such areas. These legislations need to be changed to enable the National Urban Planning System or its equivalent function with greater efficiency.

As discussed in this study, public policy in Libya has heavily been depended on, and affected by, oil revenues. Libya experienced financial difficulties as a result of the 1980 and 1992 sanctions. This had a knock-on-effect on the public policy in the country, leading to a shrink in public investment in various policy areas. Up until the uprising, Libya still depended on oil revenues for financing its policies. After the uprising, however, it is unclear where and how Libya is going to fund its public policies, knowing that available oil revenues have become limited, more likely because of the current instability and insecurity in the country and the cost of the uprising. Thus, it may be useful as further research to consider how significant is Libya's oil as a source of major revenues and its effects on the policy process.

This study has examined the policy process as a whole, and found that each stage of it was affected by specific factors. However, it did not examine each stage independently so as to provide a comprehensive assessment of how these stages are affected by various factors. As such, a more dissecting study of the various stages might be suggested in order gain a detailed understanding of the stage under consideration.

The public sector has played an overwhelming role in formulating, financing and implementing the selected policies in Libya. It served to prepare and implement policies for more than four decades. Although this study has highlighted some of the roles of the public sector in public policy, it is suggested that more investigation into the role of this sector –and eventually the private sector, be local or foreign – in the policy process in Libya be carried out.

In addition, the existing information collected and analysed in this thesis can be used to develop Policy Process in Libya and decision support systems via adopting Recommender 3PL Information Management System, which can be developed in the future. This system consists of a database; a database management system; a model-base; a model-base management system and user interface. More details on this are given in Appendix (9)

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APPENDICES

Appendix (1)

Interviews Cover Letter

Dear /.....

Please allow me to introduce myself and my research's concern

I am currently a PhD candidate at the Salford University in the UK, School of Built Environment. My research principally aims to evaluate critically the public policy process in Libya, through which policy idea and issues are generated, defined, developed and processed into public policy. Policy processes are ill defined in Libya, and not insufficiently documented, therefore they will be considered and analysed from the Western perspective and then compared with the current practices in Libya.

The examination therefore will focus on how public policy in Libya is developed and implemented, and identify the principal participants involving in public policy processes. It also investigates the political structures and government institutions through which policy ideas and issues are developed and processed. It analyses the government's policy plans, in order to demonstrate the comparative differences between the stated policy objectives and the actual implementation and achievement. The main objective of this investigation is, to find out how the Libyan government takes actions to relate policy objectives to the expected outputs as well as to identify and scrutinise the government's financial allocations and expenditures, in order to verify policy outputs. This will assist to explore weaknesses and strengths of policy processes in policy.

The study targets people who are directly involved in public policy processes in Libya; therefore I would greatly appreciate your willingness to assist me in my search. Accordingly to your position, authority and participation in policy preparation, you are selected for an interview as the most significant person and expert in this area. I strongly belief you will provide useful information, wealth of knowledge, constrictive ideas and

positive help for developing and completing the undertaken research. The interview will be conducted accordance to outlined questions (attached copy). I wish to assure that all gained information from the interview will be treated privately and confidentiality and only used for academic purposes.

I would be most grateful, if I could arrange an interview with you to devote a little time from your valuable duties, it will only take approximately an hour and not accede an hour and half.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation

Yours faithfully

Abuagela M Ahmed
PhD Student,School of Built Environment
Research Institute for Built and Human Environment
University of Salford
United Kingdom

Appendix (2)
Interviews Cover Letter
"Arabic Version"

الأخ/.....

افيدكم باني طالب دكتوراء بجامعة سالفورد ببريطانيا، وموضوع بحثي يتناول تقييم عملية صنع السياسات العامة في ليبيا. لذا فان المقابلة تهدف الى تجميع بيانات ومعلومات ميدانية للمساهمة في استكمال متطلبات رسالة الدكتوراء.

تقيم عملية صنع السياسات العامة يتطلب التعرف على الكيفية التي يتم بها التعبير عن احتياجات ومتطلبات المجتمع و ادراجها في جدول الأعمال، وكذلك آلية إختيار وتحديد أهداف واولويات السياسات العامة في مختلف المجالات والميادين، كما أنها تتطلب دراسة وتحليل الهياكل السياسية والإدارية التي من خلالها يتم أعداد السياسات العامة للبلاد، وكذلك معرفة الأفراد الذين يساهمون وبشكل مباشر في رسم السياسات.

أن الدراسة تستهدف عدداً من القيادات السياسية والإدارية بالمؤسسات الحكومية ذوي الخبرة والتجربة الطويلة في هذا المجال، والذين لهم علاقة مباشرة بعملية صنع السياسات العامة في ليبيا. ونظراً لموقعكم القيادي ومساهمتمكم الفاعلة في رسم وإعداد السياسات العامة خلال مراحلها المختلفة، يرى الباحث بأنكم خير من يساهم في إثراء هذه الدراسة من خلال المقابلة التي ستجرى معكم. كما أن الباحث على ثقة تامة بأنكم ستقدمون معلومات وفيرة ومفيدة وأفكار وآراء بناءة وإيجابية تساهم في تطوير واستكمال هذه الدراسة.

لكم جزيل الشكر سلفاً على حسن تعاونكم

ابوعجيلة مسعود احمد
طالب دكتوراء
جامعة سالفورد - بريطانيا

Appendix (3)

Case Study Brief

This research is undertaken by a postgraduate student at the University of Salford, in the UK, School of Built Environment, as one of the requirements to achieve a PhD degree.

Case study is being selected as the most appropriate research strategy for this study. It is designed to bring out detailed information from the viewpoints of the participants by using multiple sources of data: literature review, documents review and interviews. Review to literature is carried out to demonstrate awareness of the current state of knowledge on the subject, its limitations and how the proposed research aims add to what is already known. It helps to describe a topic of interest and refines the research directions and questions as well as to identify theories and concepts that have influenced the choice of the research topic and the methodology. It is conducted to identify the research problem and propose research questions that address the gap in previous research, which needs to be filled. Therefore, published journal articles, books, web sites, conference publications, and various institutional reports on the public policy analysis and policy process area are investigated to order to develop the conceptual framework by which the research problem under consideration can be examined.

Documents review is one of data collection technique in case study that assists to support evidence gathered from other sources. Therefore, official documents –as an additional

and a complementary source of data collection– are investigated, to corroborate the evidence from other sources as they can provide details that may support the verbal accounts of informants. Official documents related to public policy in Libya are investigated to collect information about the practice of the public policy process. They typically include government documents and reports, regulations, code of legislations, periodical reports, the government policy plans. Qualitative and quantitative data are gathered. The qualitative data is used to describe the political and administrative structures, and how these structures are operating to produce public policy. It therefore helps to perceive how selected policies are developed, implemented and evaluated through these structures. The quantitative data, on other hand, provides statistical data about policy contents, which also helps demonstrating differences between the stated objectives and the actual outputs.

The interviews are conducted to obtain additional information from people's perceptions and their deep insights and definitions about the policy process practice in Libya. Therefore, semi-structured interviews are perceived to be an appropriate option given to the nature, characteristics and positions of the people in the research sample, because there are different types of people who hold different perceptions, views, ideas and thoughts. This type is adopted to enable the researcher to assimilate more in-depth information and provide him with means for exploring stakeholders' perspectives by giving full liberty to discuss opinions on the practices of public policy process. In order to facilitate the research task, interview questions guidelines are prepared to cover the main themes of the study's concern including policy processes, activities and participants

involved in each process. Face-to-face semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions are carried out, because they are perceived to be an appropriate option given the nature, characteristics and positions of the people in the research sample. These people are Secretaries, Undersecretaries, top administrators, policy planners and advisors, executives, members of the General People's Congress and other key actors who have been involved in the policy process. Thus, the interview guidelines allow the researcher to generate his own questions, to develop interesting areas of inquiry during the interviews. They are constructed to obtain information about how public policy in Libya is developed and implemented through certain processes, and identify the principal participants involving in these processes. Collected data from interviews are useful in filling the gaps, and in confirming some of the findings of the documentations.

Collected data and information are analysed, discussed and presented through a detailed textual analysis, whilst quantitative data are tabulated in statistical tables and presented in the forms of charts and diagrams by using NVivo Software.

Abuagela M Ahmed
PhD Student
University of Salford

Appendix (4)
Interview Guidelines Questions
“English Version”

What is the meaning attributed to the concept of public policy?

How public policy in Libya is made and who are the principal actors involved?

How are the political structures in Libya working to produce public policies?

How are policy issues defined, defined, developed and put on the policy agenda?

How are selected policies developed into policy plan and put into effect?

How are the financial resources generated and allocated among policy objectives and priorities set on the policy plan?

Are there any criteria have been followed up in allocating the public expenditures among the policy objectives and priorities? If yes what are these?

Have the public resources been distributed equally among the policy objectives and programmes in different policy areas?

Have the implemented policies satisfactorily achieved their objectives set out in the action plan? If not why?

How are the implemented policies evaluated, and what methods and criteria are used for their evaluation?

What are the main factors affecting public policy process in Libya in achieving policy objectives?

How is the policy process in Libya examined in accordance with the conceptual framework developed from the literature?

Appendix (5)
Interview Guidelines Questions
"Arabic Version"

- س1 ما مفهومكم لكلمة السياسات العامة ؟
- س2- كيف يتم أعداد السياسات العامة في ليبيا خلال الفترة 1969-2011؟
ومن الذى يعبر عن الحاجة الضرورية لسياسة عامة فى مجال معين ، وكيف يتم ذلك ؟
- س3- كيف يتم اعداد الخطط التنموية كسياسات عامة للبلاد خلال الفترات من (1973-85)،
(1986-2011) ، وهل هناك سياسات عامة أخرى لم تتضمنها الخطط الثلاث ؟
- س4- لماذا توقف العمل باتباع اسلوب التخطيط الشامل عند اا لإنهاء من آخر خطة تنموية عام 1985 وتم اتباع اسلوب اعداد ميزانيات سنوية ؟
- س5- كيف يتم تحديد اهداف واولويات السياسات العامة، وكذلك وضعها فى جدول الاعمال خلال الفترات من 1969-1977 و من 1977-2010 ؟
- س6- كيف يتم التوزيع النسبى للموارد الوطنية بين القطاعات والمشروعات المختلفة لتنفيذ اهداف و برامج السياسات العامة سواء كانت ميزانيات سنوية او خطط تنموية ، و اى المشروعات ذات الأهمية الخدمية ام الزراعية او الصناعية ؟
- س7- هل حققت السياسات العامة فى ليبيا اهدافها فى مختلف المجالات ؟
- س8- كيف يتم تقييم السياسات العامة فى ليبيا ، وماهى الادوات والاساليب المستخدمة فى التقييم ؟
- س9- حسب رايكم، ماهي العوامل التي تؤثر في عملية صنع السياسات العامة في ليبيا والتي حالت دون تحقيق اهدافها بشكل كامل ومرضي ؟

Appendix (5)
List of Interviewees

List of Interviewees				
Interview	Job Title	Position	Date of Interview	Area
(1)	Policy Professional	Head of Information Office at the National Planning Council (NPC)	21/11/2007	Planning
(2)	Policy Expert	Director of the Planning and Developing Human Resources Dept at the NPC	23/11/2007	Planning
(3)	Financial Expert	Financial Expert at the NPC	23/11/2007	Planning
(4)	Policy Planer	Director of Evaluation and Continuation at the NPC	10/04/2008	Planning
(5)	Senior Policy Planer	Former Undersecretary of Planning	22/11/2007	Planning
(6)	Senior Policy Expert	Senior Policy Expert & Planner	22/11/2007	Planning
(7)	Policy Expert	Former Director of the Local Planning Council/ Gharyan Municipality	12/01/2008	Planning
(8)	Politician	Secretary of Legal Affairs and Human Rights at the General People Congress	23/04/2007	Parliament
(9)	Politician	Higher Education Secretary	25/11/2007	Education
(10)	Politician	Undersecretary of the Higher Education/ Education Secretary since March 2009	13/11/2007	Education
(11)	Policy Consultant	Director of Planning at the Higher Education Secretariat	25/04/2008	Education
(12)	Policy Professional	Head of Planning Dept at the Higher Education Secretariat	25/04/2007	Education
(13)	Politician	Undersecretary of the Education	16/04/2008	Education
(14)	Senior Policy Planer	Head of Building and Construction Dept at the Housing Secretariat	25/04/2008	Housing
(15)	Politician	Head of Information Office at the Health & Environment Secretariat	22/11/2007	Health
(16)	Policy Consultant	Undersecretary of the Health and Environment	12/04/2008	Health

Appendix (6) Conceptual Matrix Represents Main Themes against Case Respondents

Main Categories	Themes						
Responses	Policy Concept	Policy Initiation	Policy Formulation	Policy Implementation	Policy Evaluation	Policy Actors	Policy Factors
Interview (1)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (2)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (3)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (4)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (5)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (6)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (7)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (8)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (9)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (10)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (11)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (12)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (13)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (14)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (15)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Interview (16)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Summary							

Appendix (7) Conceptual Matrix Represents Main Themes against Case Respondents

Main Categories	Themes		
Responses	Policy Concept	Policy Initiation	Policy Formulation
Interview (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -General visions for designing policy plan -Specific objectives translated into development plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Starting with policy ideas expression -Generating policy ideas -Recognising policy ideas -Discussing agenda items -Taking authoritative action -The RL' suggestions are included on the policy agenda -The GPC is the highest authority in the state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Suggesting policy objectives and programmes -Deciding policy objectives and programmes -Listing policy programmes and projects
Interview (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -General guides for designing policy plan -General guides for programming policy objectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Taking action by the General Secretariat of the GPC -Agenda is a collection of policy issues -Agreed agenda contains various issues -Putting up policy proposal -Determining policy proposal -Policy ideas generate from popular demands 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Arranging policy programmes in clear linked And logical units -Designing policy plan -Preparing development plan
Interview (3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -General guides for defining policy objectives - Set of objectives translated into policy plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Addressing policy issues -Setting policy agenda -Policy ideas initiated when certain needs are sufficiently felt -Providing new services -Asking for improving existing services - Asking for rectifying existing acts -Developing policy issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Involving joint interaction among actors -Developing policy plan -Involving circular flow of interaction among actors
Interview (4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Series of political actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The Revolution Leader (RL) can suggest policy ideas and issues -Policy ideas generate from international organisations -Policy ideas generate from political authority -Long debate over issue to be on agenda -Usually the agenda capacity is finite -Some issues fail to reach the agenda 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Surveying current economic & social situations -Estimating national economic growth -Reviewing available financial resources

Appendix (7) Conceptual Matrix Represents Main Themes against Case Respondents

Appendix (7) Conceptual Matrix Represents Main Themes against Case Respondents			
Main Categories	Themes		
Responses	Policy Implementation	Policy Evaluation	Policy Factors
Interview (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The actual stage in policy process -Prioritising & programming implementing policies -Considering ability of the implementers -Relating expected achievements to actual results -Some difficulty have risen during policy implementation -Failures due to inefficiency of using resources -Due to the ineffectiveness of local construction companies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reviewing the efficiency of implemented policy -Considering the implemented policy efficiency -Considering the implemented policy effectiveness -A systematic activity of assessing policy or programmes -Starting when a policy has been put into effect -Considering what happens during and after policy implementation -Involving heads of departments and technocrats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Some policies have failed to have satisfactory impacts on society -Some policies have experienced lack of success -Some policies have experienced some defects -Some policies have failed to have desirable achievements - lack of funds
Interview (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -oil production actives have dominated by government -Oil revenues goes directly to public treasury -Oil revenues have mainly used to finance policy plans -Considering the efficiency of using national resources -Involving a mobilisation of national resources among policy areas -Involving allocations of necessary fund among policy programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Considering the success or failure of a policy -Requiring setting up general guidelines for policy measurement -Using different methods for policy evaluation -Preparing formal periodical reports -Involving policy evaluators -Involving the National Planning Council (NPC) -Conducting field visits to pick up impressionistic data about the achievements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Some policies have failed to have satisfactory results -Some policies have failed totally to hit their objectives -Some policies have not entirely implemented -Inappropriate funds -Big reduction in oil revenues
Interview (3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Taking specific actions for implementing decided policy -Putting decided policy into effect -Responding to public demands -Has largely implemented by the public sector -Conducting through the function of the government agencies -Has mainly financed from the public treasury 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Starting when a policy put into effect -Measuring the government actual achievements -Measuring the consequences of implemented policies -A little evaluation has been done by career officials -A little evaluation has been done by government agencies -Involving the Planning Secretariat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Foreign sanctions on Libya -Tremendous reduction in public treasury -Considerable reduction in government expenditures -Inability of the government to finance adequately selected policies -Experiencing some financial difficulties in relation to policy implementation
Interview (4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Developing infrastructure & buildings -Providing public infrastructure & buildings -Determining means for policy implementation -Considering allocations of financial resources -Putting public demands in reality -Creating something in the society -Achieving policy goals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Measuring implemented programmes -Measuring achievement ratios of each policy programme -Measuring the efficiency of certain policy programmes -Comparing allocated resources with actual expenditures -Monitoring achieved result -Considering the performance of government agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Cancelling the development plan method for policy preparation -Inability of the local implementing agencies -Administrative instability -Instability of the administrative frameworks -Mismanagement

Appendix (7) Conceptual Matrix Represents Main Themes against Case Respondents			
Main Categories	Themes		
Responses	Policy Concept	Policy Initiation	Policy Formulation
Interview (5)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Set of objectives and strategies -Set of programmes and projects -Comprehensive development plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Identifying policy ideas -Recognising policy problem -Defining policy problem -Determining agenda items -Collecting bills & policy issues -The GP Committee defines policy issues and proposals -The RL' ideas, suggestions and directives are honoured 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Listing policy objectives and Priorities -Setting statements of policy programmes -Involving continuous intercommunication between actors
Interview (6)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Series of authoritative actions -Comprehensive development plan -Set of objectives and strategies -Set of programmes and projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Describing policy problem -Expressing policy ideas -Expressing urgent felt needs & desires -The BPCs' decisions are typically unspecified & general statements -The National Planning Council (NPC) defines policy issues -The RL' ideas, and directives are taken into account by the GPC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Defining policy programmes & projects -Design policy programmes & projects
Interview (7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Set of objectives intended to be achieved -Set of actions for designing policy plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Crystallising policy ideas into policy issues -Processing policy ideas into policy issues -Processing policy issues into policy proposals -Taking decision by the General People Congress (GPC) -The RL' ideas and suggestions are thoughtfully considered 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Allocating resources among policy objectives -Allocating financial resources among policy areas
Interview (8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Series procedures for implementing decided policies -Continuous actions for achieving intended goals -General arrangements of the state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Developing policy issues into policy proposals -Setting policy agenda -Preparing policy agenda -Defined policy issues are brought to the GPC for consideration -The NPC can suggest bills and policy issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Deciding policy plan -Involving long time of deliberation and spirited debate

Appendix (7) Conceptual Matrix Represents Main Themes against Case Respondents			
Main Categories	Themes		
Responses	Policy Implementation	Policy Evaluation	Policy Factors
Interview (5)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Selecting means for achieving policy objectives --Has experienced some failures -Some policies have failed totally to hit their objectives -Has largely dependent on foreign companies -Has experienced lack of success -Reducing agreed allocations caused great effects on policy implementation -Amending policy programmes and priorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Concerning the efficiency and effectiveness of a policy -Assessing overall effectiveness of national programmes -The actual policy impacts have not yet measured -Government achievements have inadequate measured -Policy advisors from the UN have been consulted in policy evaluation -The NPC prepares periodical reports 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Absence of an effective government body for policy evaluation -Absence of skilled policy analysts and evaluators -Absence of specialised institutions of policy evaluation -A lack of feedback information -Bad state of feedback operation
Interview (6)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Determining appropriate means for implementing decided policy -70% of oil revenues should be used for development purposes -Due to the ineffectiveness of the implementers -Foreign currencies have mainly come from oil markets -Has suffered from certain defects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Measuring effectiveness of certain policy programmes -Comparing achieved objectives with used resources -Policy social impacts have not considered -Ratios contains number of pupils per class -Ratios contains number of teacher per pupils -Reports show public investments on policy areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Instability of the operating public institutions -Mismanagement -Depending heavily on the international oil markets to funding selected policies -Inability of the local implementing agencies -Administrative instability
Interview (7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Selecting means for implementing decided policies -Policies may be badly implemented -Failures leading to reschedule some programme into subsequent policy plan -Depending heavily on foreign markets -Oil revenues are principal resources of foreign currency -Importing goods & equipments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reviewing implemented policy efficiency -Comparing achieved programmes with used resources -Policy impacts on society have not been measured -Policy effects on society cannot easily be measured -Policy evaluation is a feedback -Providing information on the consequences of policy actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Instability of administrative frameworks -Instability of operating public institutions -Selecting inappropriate implementing means -Amending policy programmes and priorities -Cutting policy programmes and projects
Interview (8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Basing on inadequate understanding of considered issues -Leading to altering policy content and objectives -Re-allocating resources among policy areas -Has principally depended on government expenditures -Oil revenues have become the main resources of the government -Oil revenues enabled government to finance its policies -Has heavily depended on oil revenues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Measuring progress towards achieving stated objectives -Considering the efficiency of the government agencies -Considering the efficiency of implemented policies -Considering the effectiveness of adopted policies -Providing feedback for rectifying existing policy -Providing feedback for discarding existing policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reducing agreed allocations -Total absence of serious evaluation -An inadequate feedback -Total absence of adequate evaluation -Absence of an effective government body for policy analysis

Appendix (7) Conceptual Matrix Represents Main Themes against Case Respondents			
Main Categories	Themes		
Responses	Policy Concept	Policy Initiation	Policy Formulation
Interview (9)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Series procedures for implementing decided policies -Series procedures for achieving deliberate objectives -Set of interrelated decisions -Outputs of the political system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Placing issues on policy agenda -Considering policy issues - Reviewing policy issues -Policy proposals discussed by the GPC -The NPC develops policy proposals -The NPC defines policy issues -The GPC is a responsible body for drawing up policy agenda 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Setting statements of policy strategies -Defining policy objectives and Priorities -Policy programmes designed by professional groups -Policy programmes designed by the administrators
Interview (10)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Series of authoritative actions -Set of actions for designing policy plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The GS of the GPC determines political agenda items -The GS collects and classifies the BPCs' agreed decisions -Decided policy proposals becomes ready for formulation -The GPC is a responsible body for considering policy agenda 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Policy programmes designed by policy planners -Policy programmes designed by specialists and technical committees
Interview (11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Set of objectives intended to be achieved -Comprehensive development plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The RL' ideas and hints are gravely addressed as policy issues -Daily duties of the GPC are delegated to its General Secretary (GS) -Policy issues throw open to public debate before their approval 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Design policy programmes in clear and logical linked units -Recognising policy programmes
Interview (12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Set of objectives and strategies -Set of programmes and projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Listing policy objectives and proportions -Policy issues identified by government -Policy ideas have mainly initiated by the BPCs -Different institutions have involved in policy initiation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Defining policy programmes -Arranging policy programmes in logical linked units -Surveying current economic & social situations -Estimating national economic growth -Reviewing available financial resources

Appendix (7) Conceptual Matrix Represents Main Themes against Case Respondents			
Main Categories	Themes		
Responses	Policy Implementation	Policy Evaluation	Policy Factors
Interview (9)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Involving allocations necessary funds for implementing policy plan -Relating intended objectives to actual achievement -Identifying implementing agencies and implementers -Required equipments and materials cannot simply be met domestically -Required equipments and materials from foreign market -Policy plans have mainly financed from oil revenues -Education policy has failed to have desirable achievements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Measuring achieved results -Writing official reports about the achievement ratios -Policy process has not measured adequately -Using means for assessing implemented programmes -Ratios contains number of pupils per class -Ratios contains number of teacher per pupils -Providing feedback for developing new policy -Providing feedback for discarding existing policy -Government reports show public expenditures on policy programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Some selected policies have based on a false premise -Some difficulty have risen during policy implementation -Inefficiency of using available resources -Ineffectiveness of local construction companies (LCCs)
Interview (10)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Improving the quality of delivering services -Allocating resources among various policy programmes -Allocating resources for achieving policy plans -Requiring high technologies and equipments -Requiring special equipments and high technologies -Huge income have accumulated from oil revenues goes directly to the state treasury -Selecting inappropriate implementing means 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Monitoring the government achievements -Making site visits to field work -Involving special committees -Total absence of measuring policy impacts on society -Involving policy analysts -Measurement reports show public investments on policy areas -Providing feedback for continuing with existing policy -Providing suggestions for improving existing policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Usually the agenda capacity is finite -Some issues fail to reach the agenda -Cancelling the central planning method for policy preparation -Replacing development plans by annual development budgets
Interview (11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Delivering public services -Monitoring the implementers activities -Bring planned objectives into existence outputs -Government a responsible for providing public services -Huge programmes in different policy areas have been implemented -Policy implementation has mainly financed from oil revenues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Measuring government achievements in terms of percentages -Measuring implemented programmes -Involving the continuation and evaluation department -Using international standards for describing achievement ratios -Ratios contains number of schools, hospitals, houses etc -Reports show achievements in terms of numbers -Involving heads of departments and technocrats -Involving senior administrators 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lack of skilled labours -Depending largely on the public sector -Depending largely on state treasury -Depending heavily on oil revenues in funding selected policies
Interview (12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Providing services in different policy areas -Considering the effectiveness of the implemented policy -Considering allocated resources for implementing decided policy -Cannot easily be implemented by the private sector -Requiring professional skills -Has extensively affected by oil revenues -Has failed to have satisfactory impacts on society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Ratios contains number of teacher per pupils -Involving commonly government agencies and operating staff -The NPC prepares periodical reports -The NPC monitors and measures the achievements ratios -Government reports show expenditures on policy programmes -Government measurement reports are usually statistics -Involving controlled government bodies -Involving the Planning Secretariat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -A lack of financial capacity of the LCCs -Adopting overambitious objectives -Overestimating the capacity of the LCCs in implementing large scale constructions -Facing some difficulties in providing construction land and materials in appropriate time

Appendix (7) Conceptual Matrix Represents Main Themes against Case Respondents			
Main Categories	Themes		
Responses	Policy Concept	Policy Initiation	Policy Formulation
Interview (13)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Series procedures for implementing decided policies -Series procedures for achieving deliberate objectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The government tackles any existing policy problems -The BPCs set general guidelines for policy preparation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Involving continuous intercommunication between actors -Programmes basic components of policy plan -Policy programmes designed by the technocrats
Interview (14)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Series of authoritative actions -Set of actions for designing policy plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Deciding policy agenda - Agenda is not valid until approved by the GPC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Involving close interaction among actors -Task of the administrative agencies -Involving responsible people for policy preparation
Interview (15)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Set of objectives intended to be achieved -Set of objectives and strategies -Set of programmes and projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Crystallising policy ideas into sensible policy proposals -Policy ideas identified by the BPCs -The BPCs ask for providing public services and improving their quality -The GP Committee can suggest bills and policy issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Job of operating staff -Involving inter-change of roles between participants -Administrators translate government directives into procedures -Involving detailed information on issues at hand
Interview (16)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Set of objectives and strategies -Set of programmes and projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Approved proposals are transferred to the NPC for formulation -The BPCs are the principal policy ideas generation -The Trade Unions can suggest policy issues and proposals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Conducting within the political organisation -Task of the administrators and policy planners -Policy programmes designed by policy experts

Appendix (7) Conceptual Matrix Represents Main Themes against Case Respondents			
Main Categories	Themes		
Responses	Policy Implementation	Policy Evaluation	Policy Factors
Interview (13)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Allocating necessary resources among implementers -Has conducted through government agencies activities -Considering the relationship between intended and actual outputs -Considering alternative means for achieving intended objectives -Decided policy cannot be implemented by local companies -Has experienced some defects -Re-allocating expenditures among policy objectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Preparing periodical reports by government agencies -Preparing periodical reports by Planning Secretariat -Preparing periodical reports about achievements ratios -The NPC monitors the government achievements -The NPC measures government achievements ratios -Involving government agencies -Involving policy analysts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Depending largely on the LCCs in implementing large scale constructional projects -Changing policy objectives and priorities during implementation stage -Inability of the implementing agencies in completing selected policies
Interview (14)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Selecting appropriate means for implementing decided policy -Following-up implementing policies -Considering alternative means of achieving policy objectives -Housing policy has failed to have satisfactory results -Housing policy has failed to have desirable achievements -Housing policy has failed to have desirable achievements -Due to lack of capacity of local construction companies -Due to inability of the local construction companies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Considering what happens after policy implementation -Setting up general guidelines for policy measurement -Involving policy evaluators -Involving the National Planning Council (NPC) -Involving policy evaluators -Policy experts from the UN have been participated in evaluating housing policy -Policy experts and advisors from the UN have been consulted in evaluating housing policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Complexity of the administrative procedures -Inefficiency of the Local implementing agencies (LIAs) -Administrative instability -Constant administrative changes -Legal barriers due to some existing legislations
Interview (15)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Bringing decided policy in existence -Taking actions for achieving intended policy objectives -Reviewing implementation Ratios -Education policy has failed to have satisfactory results -Health policy has failed to have satisfactory results -Has largely funded by foreign currency -Cutting back policy programmes and projects -Health policies have been based on a false premise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Comparing intended objectives with actual achievements -Comparing intended outputs with actual outputs -Involving controlled government bodies - health policy has not been adequately evaluated -Involving government agencies -Ratios contains number of doctors, nurses per patients -The NPC monitors the government achievements -The NPC measures government achievements ratios 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Inadequate experiences and ability of the LCCs -Lack of the technical and financial capability of the LCCs -Lack of available construction land and materials -Cutting back the government expenditures
Interview (16)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Converting public demands into policy outputs -Processing decided policy into policy outputs -Has mostly financed from the state budgetary appropriations -Health policy has failed to have desirable achievements -Rescheduling the plan items -Reconsidering plan contents and objectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Comparing achievements with international standards -Considering what happens during policy implementation -Involving heads of departments and technocrats -Involving senior administrators -Ratios are number of beds, doctors, nurses per patients -The NPC monitors and measures achievements ratios -Using international standards for describing achievement ratios -Ratios contains number of schools, hospitals, houses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Insufficiency of the national urban planning system -Lack of available construction lands and materials -Selecting inappropriate implementing means -Overestimating the capacity of the LCCs in implementing selected policies

Appendix (8) Summary of Semi-Structured Interviews Data

Themes			
<i>Policy Concepts</i>	<i>Policy Initiation</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -General visions for designing policy plan -Specific objectives translated into development plan -General guides for designing policy plan -General guides for programming policy objectives -General guides for defining policy objectives -Set of objectives translated into policy plan -Continuous actions for achieving intended goals -Series of political actions -Series of authoritative actions -Set of actions for designing policy plan -Series procedures for implementing decided policies -Series procedures for achieving deliberate objectives -Set of objectives intended to be achieved -Comprehensive development plan -Set of objectives and strategies -Set of programmes and projects -General arrangements set by government -Continuous government activities -Government actions for achieving particular objectives -Clear objectives set in policy plan -Government activity -Course of action -Set of interrelated decisions -Outputs of the political system -Actions for developing policy plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Starting with policy ideas expression -Generating policy ideas -Recognising policy ideas -Identifying policy ideas -Recognising policy problem -Defining policy problem -Describing policy problem -Expressing policy ideas -Expressing urgent felt needs & desires -Defining policy issues -Determining policy issues -Addressing policy issues -Setting policy agenda -Policy ideas initiated when certain needs are sufficiently felt -Providing new services -Asking for improving existing services -Asking for rectifying existing acts -Developing policy issue -Crystallising policy ideas into policy issues -Processing policy ideas into policy issues -Processing policy issues into policy proposals -Developing policy issues into policy proposals -Setting policy agenda -Preparing policy agenda -Placing issues on policy agenda -Considering policy issues -Reviewing policy issues -Listing & classifying issues -Deliberating policy issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Determining agenda items -Collecting bills & policy issues -Discussing agenda items -Taking authoritative action -Taking decision by the General People - Congress (GPC) -Taking action by the General Secretariat of the GPC -Agenda is a collection of policy issues -Agreed agenda contains various issues -Developing policy proposal -Putting up policy proposal -Determining policy proposal -Policy ideas generate from popular demands -Policy ideas generate from international organisations -Policy ideas generate from political authority -Policy ideas generate from administrative sources -Long debate over issue to be on agenda -Usually the agenda capacity is finite -Some issues fail to reach the agenda -Deciding policy agenda -Agenda is not valid until approved by the GPC -Crystallising policy ideas into sensible policy proposals -Policy ideas identified by the BPCs -Policy issues identified by the BPCs -Policy issues identified by government -Policy proposals discussed by the GPC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Determined policy proposals must be endorsed by the GPC -Any policy proposals should get final approval by the GPC -Approved proposals are transferred to the NPC for formulation -The BPCs are the principal policy ideas generation -Policy ideas have mainly initiated by the BPCs -The government tackles any existing policy problems -The BPCs set general guidelines for policy preparation -The BPCs' decisions are typically unspecified & general statements -They ask for providing public services and improving their quality -The GP Committee defines policy issues and proposals -Defined policy issues are brought to the GPC for consideration -The National Planning Council (NPC) defines policy issues -The NPC can suggest bills and policy issues -The NPC develops policy proposals -The NPC defines policy issues -The GP Committee can suggest bills and policy issues -The Trade Unions can suggest policy issues and proposals

Appendix (8) Summary of Semi-Structured Interviews Data

Themes

Policy Initiation	Policy Formulation		Policy Implementation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The Revolution Leader (RL) can suggest policy ideas and issues -The RL's ideas, suggestions and directives are honoured -The RL's ideas, and directives are taken into account by the GPC -The RL's ideas and suggestions are thoughtfully considered -The RL's ideas and hints are gravely addressed as policy issues -The RL's suggestions are included on the policy agenda -The GPC is the highest authority in the state -The GPC is a responsible body for drawing up policy agenda -The GPC is a responsible body for considering policy agenda -The GPC is a responsible body for approving policy agenda -Daily duties of the GPC are delegated to its General Secretary (GS) -The GS of the GPC determines political agenda items -The GS collects and classifies the BPCs' agreed decisions -Decided policy proposals become ready for formulation -Policy issues throw open to public debate before their approval -Different institutions have involved in policy initiation --Listing policy objectives and proportions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Suggesting policy objectives and programmes -Deciding policy objectives and programmes -Listing policy programmes and projects -Defining policy programmes -Arranging policy programmes in logical linked units -Design policy programmes in clear and logical linked units -Recognising policy programmes -Dictating a memorandum -Laying down an action plan -Setting statements of policy strategies -Defining policy objectives and Priorities -Listing policy objectives and Priorities -Setting statements of policy programmes -Defining policy programmes & projects -Design policy programmes & projects -Arranging policy programmes in clear linked And logical units -Designing policy plan -Preparing development plan -Surveying current economic & social situations -Estimating national economic growth -Reviewing available financial resources -Allocating resources among policy objectives -Allocating financial resources among policy areas -Deciding policy plan -Involving long time of deliberation and spirited debate -Involving continuous intercommunication between actors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Involving continuous intercommunication between actors -Involving close interaction among actors -Involving joint interaction among actors -Developing policy plan -Involving circular flow of interaction among actors -Job of operating staff -Involving inter-change of roles between participants -Conducting within the political organisation -Task of the administrators and policy planners -Task of the administrative agencies -Involving responsible people for policy preparation -Involving detailed information on issues at hand -Administrators translate government directives into procedures -Programmes basic components of policy plan -Policy programmes designed by the administrators -Policy programmes designed by the technocrats -Policy programmes designed by professional groups -Policy programmes designed by policy - planners -Policy programmes designed by specialists and technical committees -Policy programmes designed by policy experts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Basing on an inadequate understanding of considered issues -The actual stage in policy process -Prioritising & programming implementing policies -Considering ability of the implementers -Relating expected achievements to actual results -Selecting means for achieving policy objectives -Selecting means for implementing decided policies -Determining appropriate means for implementing decided policy -Considering the efficiency of using national resources -Involving a mobilisation of national resources among policy areas -Involving allocations of necessary fund among policy programmes -Involving allocations necessary funds for implementing policy plan -Providing services in different policy areas -Delivering public services -Improving the quality of delivering services -Developing infrastructure & buildings -Providing public infrastructure & buildings -Determining means for policy implementation -Considering allocations of financial resources -Allocating necessary resources among implementers

Appendix (8) Summary of Semi-Structured Interviews Data

Themes

Policy Implementation

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Taking specific actions for implementing decided policy -Putting decided policy into effect -Responding to public demands -Putting public demands in reality -Creating something in the society -Achieving policy goals -Has conducted through government agencies activities -Depending on local & foreign construction companies -Has Implemented by local & foreign construction companies -Converting public demands into policy outputs -Processing decided policy into policy outputs -Bringing decided policy in existence -Taking actions for achieving intended policy objectives -Relating intended objectives to actual achievement -Identifying implementing agencies and implementers -Allocating resources among various policy programmes -Allocating resources for achieving policy plans -Monitoring the implementers activities -Bring planned objectives into existence outputs -Considering the effectiveness of the implemented policy -Considering allocated resources for implementing decided policy -Considering the relationship between intended and actual outputs -Considering alternative means for achieving intended objectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Selecting appropriate means for implementing decided policy -Following-up implementing policies -Considering alternative means of achieving policy objectives -Reviewing implementation Ratios -Depending heavily on foreign markets -Has largely implemented by the public sector -Conducting through the function of the government agencies -Has mainly financed from the public treasury -Has mostly financed from the state budgetary appropriations -Has principally depended on government expenditures -Cannot easily be implemented by the private sector -Requiring professional skills -Government is a responsible for providing all public services -Huge programmes in different policy areas have been implemented -Requiring high technologies and equipment -Requiring special equipment and high technologies -Required equipment and materials cannot simply be met domestically -Required equipments and materials provided from foreign market -Decided policy cannot simply be implemented by local companies -Has largely dependent on foreign companies -Has largely funded by foreign currency -Foreign currencies have mainly come from oil markets -Oil revenues are principal resources of foreign currency -Importing goods & equipments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Oil revenues have become the main resources of the government -All oil production actives have dominated by the government -Oil revenues goes directly to public treasury -Oil revenues have mainly used to finance policy plans -Policy plans have mainly financed from oil revenues -Oil revenues have enabled the government to finance its policies -Huge income have accumulated from oil revenues goes directly to the state treasury -70% of oil revenues should be used for development purposes -Policy implementation has mainly financed from oil revenues -Has heavily depended on oil revenues -Has extensively affected by oil revenues -Has Failed to have satisfactory impacts on society -Has experienced lack of success -Has experienced some defects -Has suffered from certain defects -Has experienced some failures -Some policies have failed totally to hit their objectives -Education policy has failed to have satisfactory results -Health policy has failed to have satisfactory results -Housing policy has failed to have satisfactory results -Education policy has failed to have desirable achievements -Health policy has failed to have desirable achievements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Housing policy has failed to have desirable achievements -Housing policy has failed to have desirable achievements -Health policies have been based on a false premise -Some difficulty have risen during policy implementation -Failures due to inefficiency of using resources -Due to the ineffectiveness of local construction companies -Due to lack of capacity of local construction companies -Due to inability of the local construction companies -Due to the ineffectiveness of the implementers -Due to the selection of inappropriate implementing means -Policies may be badly implemented -Failures leading to reschedule some programme into subsequent policy plan -Leading to altering policy content and objectives -Re-allocating resources among policy areas -Re-allocating expenditures among policy objectives -Amending policy programmes and priorities -Rescheduling the plan items -Reconsidering plan contents and objectives -Cutting back policy programmes and projects -Reducing agreed allocations caused great effects on policy implementation
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Appendix (8) Summary of Semi-Structured Interviews Data

Themes

Policy Evaluation

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -A systematic activity of assessing policy or programmes -Starting when a policy has been put into effect -Considering what happens during and after policy implementation -Considering the success or failure of a policy -Requiring setting up general guidelines for policy measurement -Concerning with the efficiency and effectiveness of a policy -Assessing the overall effectiveness of national programmes -Starting when a policy put into effect -Measuring the government actual achievements -Measuring the consequences of implemented policies -Measuring achieved results -Measuring government achievements in terms of percentages -Monitoring the government achievements -Measuring implemented programmes -Measuring achievement ratios of each policy programme -Measuring the efficiency of certain policy programmes -Measuring the effectiveness of certain policy programmes -Measuring progress towards achieving stated objectives -Reviewing implemented policy efficiency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reviewing the efficiency of implemented policy -Considering the implemented policy efficiency -Considering the implemented policy effectiveness -Using different methods for policy evaluation -Preparing formal periodical reports -Preparing periodical reports by government agencies -Preparing periodical reports by the - Planning Secretariat -Preparing periodical reports about the achievements ratios -Writing official reports about the achievement ratios -Making site visits to field work -Conducting field visits to pick up impressionistic data about the achievements -Measuring implemented programmes -Comparing actual achievements with international standards -Considering what happens during policy implementation -Considering what happens after policy implementation -Setting up general guidelines for policy measurement -Comparing intended objectives with actual achievements -Comparing intended outputs with actual outputs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Comparing achieved objectives with used resources -Comparing achieved programmes with used resources -Comparing allocated resources with actual expenditures -Monitoring achieved result -Considering the performance of government agencies -Considering the efficiency of the government agencies -Considering the efficiency of implemented policies -Considering the effectiveness of adopted policies -Total absence of measuring policy impacts on society -Policy effects on society cannot easily be measured -Policy impacts on society have not been measured -Policy social impacts have not considered -The actual policy impacts have not yet measured -Policy process has not measured adequately -Using particular means for assessing implemented programmes -Involving commonly government agencies and operating staff -Involving the continuation and evaluation department -Involving special committees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Involving heads of departments and technocrats -Involving senior administrators -Involving controlled government bodies -Involving the Planning Secretariat -Involving government agencies -Involving policy analysts -Involving policy evaluators -Involving the National Planning Council (NPC) -The NPC monitors the government achievements -The NPC measures the government achievements ratios -The NPC prepares periodical reports -The NPC monitors and measures the achievements ratios -Using international standards for describing achievement ratios -Ratios contains number of schools, hospitals, houses etc -Ratios contains number of pupils per class -Ratios contains number of teacher per pupils -Ratios contains number of beds, doctors, nurses per patients -Measurement reportsshow public investments on policy areas -Government reports show public expenditures on policy programmes -Government measurement reportsare usually statistics -Evaluation reports show achievements in terms of numbers
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Appendix (8) Summary of Semi-Structured Interviews Data

Themes			
Policy Evaluation			Actors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Government achievements have inadequate measured -Policy advisors from the UN have been consulted in policy evaluation -Policy experts from the UN have been participated in evaluating housing policy -Policy experts and advisors from the UN have been consulted in evaluating housing policy -Policy evaluation is a feedback -Providing information on the consequences of policy actions -Providing feedback for rectifying existing policy -Providing feedback for discarding existing policy -Providing feedback for developing new policy -Providing feedback for discarding existing policy -Providing feedback for continuing with an existing policy -Providing suggestions for improving existing policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Providing suggestions for developing new policies -Using feedback for securing necessary changes in existing policies -Using feedback evaluation for making minor changes in existing policies -Using feedback evaluation for making major changes in existing policies -Using feedback evaluation for establishing new policy -A little evaluation has been done by career officials -A little evaluation has been done by government agencies -A little official evaluation has been done for health policy -Absent of a sufficient evaluation -Policy process has not adequately been evaluated -Housing policy had been evaluated by international organisation -Absence of effective government agency for policy evaluation -Absent of an adequate feedback 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Absence of an effective institution for policy evaluation -Absence of an effective institution for policy analysis -Absence of policy analysts for evaluating policy plans -Absence of policy analysts for evaluating policy programmes -Absence of specialised institutions for evaluating policy plans -Absence of specialised institutions for policy evaluation -Total absence of serious evaluation for education policy -Real absence of policy analysts -Actual absence of good evaluation in all policy areas -Lacking of specialised skills for policy evaluation -Policy process has not been evaluated -Policy process has experienced a lack of feedback information -Policy process has experienced bad state of feedback operation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Policy issues are identified by the BPCs -Policy issues are identified by government -Policy proposals discussed by the GPC -The BPCs are the principal policy ideas generation -Policy ideas have mainly initiated by the BPCs -The government tackles any existing policy problems -The BPCs set general guidelines for policy preparation -The GP Committee defines policy issues and proposals -The National Planning Council (NPC) defines policy issues -The NPC suggest bills and policy issues -The NPC develops policy proposals -The NPC defines policy issues -The GP Committee can suggest bills and policy issues -The Trade Unions can suggest policy issues and proposals -The Revolution Leader (RL) can suggest policy ideas and issues -The RL's ideas, suggestions and directives are honoured

Appendix (8) Summary of Semi-Structured Interviews Data

Themes			
Actors		Factors Affecting Policy Processes	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The RL' ideas and hints are gravely addressed as policy issues -The GPC is a responsible body for drawing up policy agenda -The GS of the GPC determines political agenda items - Agenda is not valid until approved by the GPC -Job of operating staff -Task of the administrators and policy planners -Task of the administrative agencies -Administrators translate government directives into procedures -Policy programmes designed by the administrators -Policy programmes designed by the technocrats -Policy programmes designed by professional groups -Policy programmes designed by policy - planners -Policy programmes designed by specialists committees -Policy programmes designed by technical committees -Policy programmes designed by policy experts - The NPC develops policy proposals -The NPC formulates policy plans -Has conducted through government agencies activities -Depending on local & foreign construction companies -Has Implemented by local & foreign construction companies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - largely implemented by the public sector -Conducting through the function of the government agencies - mainly financed from the public treasury -Mostly financed from the state budgetary appropriations - Principally depended on government expenditures -Government is a responsible for providing all public services -largely dependent on foreign companies -Involving: -Government agencies and operating staff -Continuation and evaluation department -Special committees -Heads of departments and technocrats -Senior administrators -Controlled government bodies -Planning Secretariat -In government agencies -Involving policy analysts -Involving policy evaluators -Involving the National Planning Council (NPC) -The NPC monitors the government achievements -The NPC measures the government achievements ratios -The NPC prepares periodical reports -The NPC monitors and measures the achievements ratios 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Some policies have failed to have satisfactory impacts on society -Some policies have failed to have satisfactory results -Some policies have failed totally to hit their objectives -Some policies have not entirely implemented -Some policies have experienced lack of success -Some policies have experienced some defects -Some policies have failed to have desirable achievements - lack of funds -Inappropriate funds -Big reduction in oil revenues -Foreign sanctions on Libya -Tremendous reduction in public treasury -Considerable reduction in government expenditures -Inability of the government to finance adequately selected policies -Experiencing some financial difficulties in relation to policy implementation -Cancelling the development plan method for policy preparation -Inability of the local implementing agencies -Administrative instability -Instability of the administrative frameworks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Instability of the operating public institutions -Mismanagement -Depending heavily on the international oil markets to funding selected policies -Inability of the local implementing agencies -Administrative instability -Instability of the administrative frameworks -Instability of the operating public institutions -Selecting inappropriate implementing means -Amending policy programmes and priorities -Cutting back policy programmes and projects -Reducing agreed allocations -Total absence of serious evaluation -An inadequate feedback -Total absence of adequate evaluation -Absence of an effective government body for policy analysis -Absence of an effective government body for policy evaluation -Absence of skilled policy analysts and evaluators -Absence of specialised institutions of policy evaluation -A lack of feedback information -Bad state of feedback operation

Appendix (8) Summary of Semi-Structured Interviews Data			
Themes			
Factors Affecting Policy Processes			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Usually the agenda capacity is finite -Some issues fail to reach the agenda -Cancelling the central planning method for policy preparation -Replacing development plans by annual development budgets -Lack of skilled labours -Depending largely on the public sector -Depending largely on state treasury -Depending heavily on oil revenues in funding selected policies -Some selected policies have based on a false premise -Some difficulty have risen during policy implementation -Inefficiency of using available resources -Ineffectiveness of local construction companies (LCCs) -A lack of financial capacity of the LCCs -Adopting overambitious objectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Overestimating the capacity of the LCCs in implementing large scale constructions -Facing some difficulties in providing construction land and materials in appropriate time -Depending largely on the LCCs in implementing large scale constructional projects -Changing policy objectives and priorities during implementation stage -Inability of the implementing agencies in completing selected policies -Legal barriers due to some existing legislations -Complexity of the administrative procedures -Inefficiency of the Local implementing agencies (LIAs) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Administrative instability -Constant administrative changes -Insufficiency of the national urban planning system -Lack of available construction lands and materials -Selecting inappropriate implementing means -Overestimating the capacity of the LCCs in implementing selected policies -Inadequate experiences and ability of the LCCs -Lack of the technical and financial capability of the LCCs -Lack of available construction land and materials -Cutting back the government expenditures 	

Appendix (9) Summary Points of Semi-Structured Interviews Data

Main Categories			
Policy Concept	Policy Initiation	Policy Formulation	Policy Implementation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -General visions -General guidelines - Set of objectives - Set of political actions - Set of authoritative actions -Series procedures -Set of objectives - Development plan -Set of strategies -Set of programmes -Set of projects -General arrangements -Continuous government activities -Government actions - Policy plan -Government activity -Course of action -Set of interrelated decisions -Outputs of the political system 	Policy Ideas Identification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Ideas Generation -Ideas Perception & Recognition -<i>Expressing Felt Needs & Desires</i> -Ideas Description & Definition -Asking for new service -Asking for improving existing services -Suggesting bills ideas -Amendments existing acts Policy issue Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Processing Policy Ideas into Policy Issues -Policy issues Defining & Determining -Policy Issues Addressing -Policy Issues Expression -Determine general statement of imperative issues (foreign & Domestic) -Determine white bills Policy Agenda Setting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Agenda Preparation -Issues Consideration & Disposition -<i>Issues Reviewing & Compilation</i> -<i>Issues Listing & Classification</i> -Issues Deliberation -Agenda items Determination -Collecting bills & policy issues -Agenda Decision & Approval -Taking authoritative Action for approving agenda items 	Proposal Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collecting Information - Considering & analyzing Information - Filtering & Validating Information - <i>Laying Down Action Plan</i> Proposal Preparation <p><u>Surveying Existing Situations by:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reviewing Existing Policies -Reviewing available Financial -Estimating National Economic Growth -Considering Capital Investments <p><u>Setting Detailed Statements by:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Suggesting Policy Strategies -Suggesting Policy Objectives & Priorities -Suggesting Policy Programmes & Projects -Suggesting Capital Investments Designing Policy Plan <p><i>Proposal Formulation</i></p> <p><u>Drafting Policy Proposal by:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -<i>Setting Strategies</i> -Listing Objectives -Scheduling Projects -Allocating Resources <p><u>Developing Policy Proposal through:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Deliberation & Spirited Debate <p><u>Agreeing Policy Proposal by:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Drafting Policy Plan Considering Formulated Policy Plan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Taking authoritative action for approving formulated policy plan -Discussion, Pleasing, Deciding and Approval 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Putting decided policy into effect - Responding to public demands - Putting public demands in reality - Converting public demands into policy outputs - Processing decided policy into policy outputs <p><i>Prioritising & programming implementing policies</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Delivering public services - Developing infrastructure & buildings - Importing Goods & equipment <p><i>Identifying implementing agencies and implementers</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Considering alternative means for achieving intended objectives - Selecting means for achieving policy objectives - Selecting means for implementing decided policies - Determining means for policy implementation - Identifying government agencies as main implementer - Identifying construction companies as main the implementer (local and Foreign companies) <p><i>Allocating resources among implementers</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Allocating necessary fund among policy programmes - Allocating necessary funds for implementing policy plan - Financial Spending mainly foreign companies <p><i>Monitoring the implementers activities</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Following-up implementing policies - Reviewing implementation Ratios - Considering the efficiency of using national resources - Considering the effectiveness of the implemented policy

Appendix (9) Summary Points of Semi-Structured Interviews Data

Main Categories

Policy Evaluation	Policy Actors	Policy Factors	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -A systematic activity of assessing policy or programmes -Considering the success or failure of a policy -Requiring setting up general guidelines for policy measurement -Concerning the efficiency and effectiveness of a policy -Assessing overall effectiveness of national programmes -Measuring the government actual achievements -Measuring the consequences of implemented policies -Measuring achieved results -Measuring government achievements -Monitoring the government achievements -Measuring implemented programmes -Measuring achievement ratios of each policy programme -Measuring the efficiency of certain policy programmes -Measuring the effectiveness of certain policy programmes -Reviewing implemented policy -Preparing periodical reports -Writing official reports - site visits to field work - field visits to pick up impressionistic data about the achievements -Measuring implemented programmes -Comparing actual achievements with international standards -Setting up general guidelines for policy measurement -Comparing intended objectives with actual achievements -Comparing intended outputs with actual outputs -Comparing allocated resources with actual expenditures -Monitoring achieved result -Considering the efficiency of the government agencies -Considering the efficiency of implemented policies -Using international standards for describing achievement ratios -Providing information on the consequences of policy actions -Providing feedback 	<p>Initiation Stage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basic People Congresses General People Committee Trade Unions National Planning Council General People Congress General Secretariat of the GPC Leader of the Revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Deciding enthusiastic/ambitious agenda -Cancelling the central planning method for policy preparation -Lack of skilled labours -Depending largely on the public sector -Depending largely on state treasury -Depending heavily on oil revenues in funding selected policies -Some selected policies have based on a false premise -Inefficiency of using available resources -Ineffectiveness of local construction companies (LCCs) -A lack of financial capacity of the LCCs -Adopting overambitious objectives -Overestimating the capacity of the LCCs in implementing large scale constructions -Facing some difficulties in providing construction land and materials in appropriate time -Changing policy objectives and priorities during implementation stage -Inability of the implementing agencies in completing selected policies -Legal barriers due to some existing legislations -Complexity of the administrative procedures -Inefficiency of the Local implementing agencies (LIAs) -Administrative instability -Constant administrative changes -Insufficiency of the national urban planning system -Lack of available construction lands and materials 	
	<p>Formulation Stage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government Agencies Civil Servants Policy Planners Policy Experts Professional Committees Professional Groups Research & Academic Centres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Selecting inappropriate implementing means -Inadequate experiences and ability of the LCCs -Lack of the technical and financial capability of the LCCs -Lack of available construction land and materials -Cutting back the government expenditures -A lack of funds -Inappropriate funds -Big reduction in oil revenues -Foreign sanctions on Libya -Inability of the government to finance adequately selected policies -Cancelling the development plan method for policy preparation -Inability of the local implementing agencies -Administrative instability -Instability of the operating public institutions -Mismanagement -Depending heavily on the international oil markets to funding selected policies -Inability of the local implementing agencies -Amending policy programmes and priorities -Cutting back policy programmes and projects -Reducing agreed allocations -Total absence of serious evaluation -An inadequate feedback -Total absence of adequate evaluation -Absence of an effective government body for policy analysis -Absence of an effective government body for policy evaluation -Absence of skilled policy analysts and evaluators -Absence of specialised institutions of policy evaluation -A lack of feedback information -Bad state of feedback operation 	
	<p>Implementation Stage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government Agencies Local Construction Companies Foreign Construction Companies Operating staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Facing some difficulties in providing construction land and materials in appropriate time -Changing policy objectives and priorities during implementation stage -Inability of the implementing agencies in completing selected policies -Legal barriers due to some existing legislations -Complexity of the administrative procedures -Inefficiency of the Local implementing agencies (LIAs) -Administrative instability -Constant administrative changes -Insufficiency of the national urban planning system -Lack of available construction lands and materials 	
	<p>Evaluation Stage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government Agencies Continuation and Evaluation Departments Special Committees National Planning Council Planning Secretariat Senior Administrators Policy Advisors Policy Evaluator & Analysts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Facing some difficulties in providing construction land and materials in appropriate time -Changing policy objectives and priorities during implementation stage -Inability of the implementing agencies in completing selected policies -Legal barriers due to some existing legislations -Complexity of the administrative procedures -Inefficiency of the Local implementing agencies (LIAs) -Administrative instability -Constant administrative changes -Insufficiency of the national urban planning system -Lack of available construction lands and materials 	

Appendix (9) A Public Policy Process in Libya Recommender Information Management System

Based on the analysis of existing information, expert and decision support systems and in order to determine most efficient versions of public policy process in Libya a Public Policy Process in Libya Recommender 3PLR system consisting of a database; a database management system; a model-base; a model-base management system and user interface can be developed in the future (Figure 1).

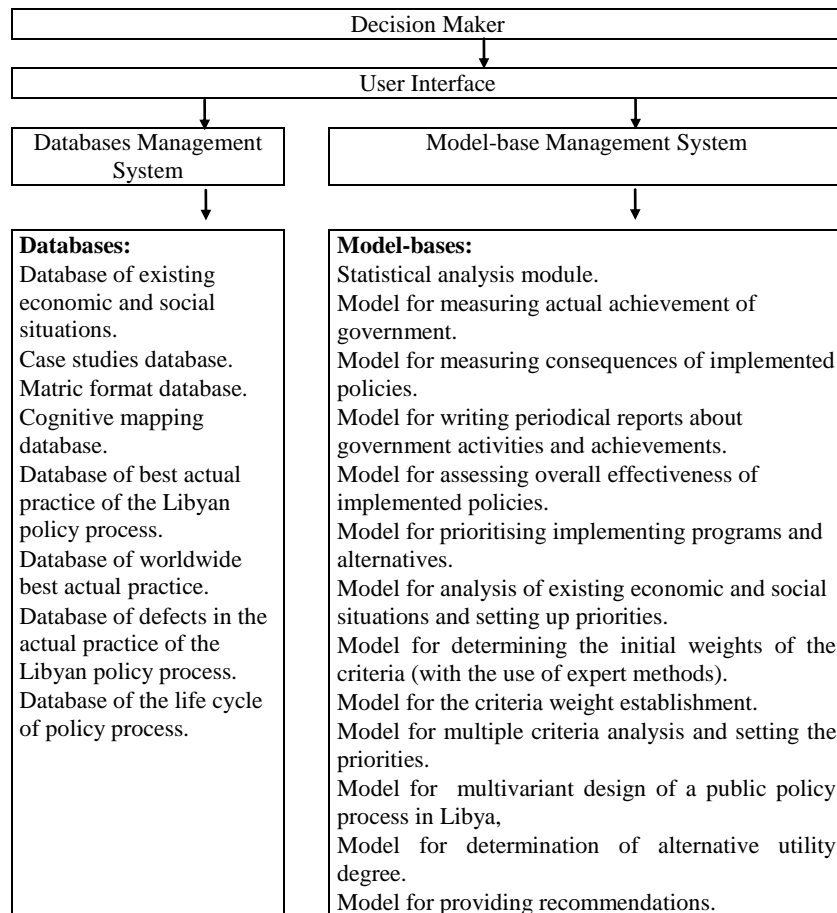


Figure. 1. The Components of 3PLR System

Database

Public policy process in Libya involves a number of interested parties (i.e. senior administrators, policy evaluators, planning secretariat, policy advisors, General Planning Council, government agencies, controlled government bodies, special committees, Continuation department, etc.) pursuing various goals as well as having different potentialities, educational level and experience. This leads to various approaches of the above parties to decision making in this field. In order to thoroughly analyze the alternatives (i. e. Continue with existing policy, Improve existing policy, Discard existing policy, Develop new policy, etc.) available and obtain an efficient compromise solution it is often necessary to define them on the basis of external, financial, technical, institutional, administrative, social, political, economic, cultural and other type of information. For example, Libya's social, political and economic frameworks have been fundamentally based on Islamic culture. This information should be provided in a most user-oriented way. Also Libya had been directly and/or indirectly influenced economically, socially, culturally and politically by the colonial systems.

The presentation of information needed for decision making in 3PLR system may be in conceptual (digital (numerical), textual, graphical (diagrams, graphs, drawing, etc), photographic, sound, visual (video)) and quantitative forms. Thus, quantitative information presentation involves criteria systems and subsystems, units of measurement, values and initial weights fully defining the alternatives provided. Conceptual information means a conceptual description of the alternative solutions, the criteria and ways of determining their values and weights, etc. In this way, 3PLR system enables the decision maker to get various conceptual and quantitative information on public policy process in Libya from a database and a model-base allowing him/her to analyse the above factors and make an efficient solution.

There are three basic types of database structures: hierarchical, network and relational. 3PLR system has a relational database structure when the information is stored in the form of tables. These tables contain quantitative and conceptual information. Each table is given a name and is saved in the computer external memory as a separate file. Logically linked parts of the table make a relational model. The following tables make 3PLR system databases:

- Database of existing economic and social situations (existing policies, financial (available funds, inadequate fund for selected policies), foreign sanctions (sanctions by the USA in 1980 and the UN in 1992 lasted until 2003 strongly affected the Libyan financial position, leading the government to cut down its expenditures and investments in different policy areas), international markets (commercial, oil, financial), forecasting national economic growth and the contribution of each policy area in the capital income, expected income from taxes and oil revenues, capital investments, etc.).
- Case studies database: case notes made by researcher, case study documents that are collected during a case study, interview notes or transcripts, and analysis of the evidence, tabular materials, narratives, etc.
- Matric format database.
- Cognitive mapping database.
- Database of best actual practice of the Libyan policy process.
- Database of worldwide best actual practice.
- Database of defects in the actual practice of the Libyan policy process:
 - ✓ Initiations: adopting overambitious requirements, deciding overloaded agenda, some policies based on a false premise;
 - ✓ institutional and administrative: lack of communicational system, poor urban planning system, complexity of administrative procedures, inefficient public sector, instability of public institutions, constant administrative changes, inefficient allocation of public resources, lack of suitability of some existing legislations;
 - ✓ lack of technical capacity of implementers: lack of high technology, inadequacy of professionals, ineffectiveness of local construction companies;
 - ✓ changing policy requirements and priorities: reducing agreed allocations, amending policy programs and priorities, cutting back policy programs and priorities, cutting back government expenditures;
 - ✓ evaluations: absence of skilled policy analysts and evaluators, bad state of feedback operations, lack of feedback information, using limited evaluating methods;
- Database of the life cycle of policy process: policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation, etc.

The collection, processing and presentation of information for a databases acceptable form are a complicated time-consuming process. The information collected in a database should be reliable, fully describing public policy process in Libya as well as enabling 3PLR system to perform an efficient public policy process in Libya multiple criteria analysis. To design the structure of a database and perform its completion, storage, editing, navigation, searching, browsing, etc. a database management system was used.

The tables of alternative assessment contain the alternatives available and their quantitative and conceptual description. Quantitative description of the alternatives deals with the systems and subsystems of criteria fully defining the alternatives as well as the units of measurement and values and initial weights. Conceptual description defines the alternatives available in a commonly used language giving the reasons and providing grounds for choosing a particular criterion, calculation its value, weight and the like. The process of drawing up the tables of alternative assessment consists of the following steps:

- collection and presentation of general information about the alternatives under consideration,
- establishment and conceptual description of the systems and subsystems of criteria,
- establishing of criteria for choosing the units of measurement,
- estimation of the values of the criteria with the description of the process of calculation and its presentation,
- determination of the initial weights of the criteria with the description of the process of calculation and its presentation.

Based on various sources of information the alternatives presenting some interest to the stakeholder (senior administrators, policy evaluators, planning secretariat, policy advisors, General Planning Council, government agencies, controlled government bodies, special committees, Continuation department) as well as some general facts, a system of criteria, their types (quantitative and qualitative), units of measurement and the range of value estimation are determined. The wider the range of estimating the values and weights of the criteria the more accurate analysis may be done.

The accuracy of information about the alternatives (Continue with existing policy, Improve existing policy, Discard existing policy, Develop new policy, etc.) presented is of paramount importance, the objective character of the choice of the most efficient alternative being largely dependent on it. It should be noted that quantitative information is sufficiently objective. Actual alternatives have actual costs. The values of the qualitative criteria are usually rather subjective though the application of expert methods contributes to their objectivity. The initial weights of all criteria are obtained by using expert methods.

Different stakeholders (senior administrators, policy evaluators, planning secretariat, policy advisors, General Planning Council, government agencies, controlled government bodies, special committees, Continuation department) have their specific requirements. Therefore, every time when using 3PLR system they may make corrections of the databases according to the aims to be achieved and the financial situation available.

Though this assessment may seem biased and even quite subjective the solution finally made may exactly meet the requirements, aims and affordability of the stakeholders.

Uniform types of relational tables have been chosen to facilitate entering of appropriate data into the databases. Such unified databases also make it possible easily correct and introduce new information as well as efficiently carrying out computation. The above tables are used as a basis for working out the matrices of decision making. These matrices, along with the use of a model-base and models, make it possible to perform multivariant design and multiple criteria evaluation of alternatives resulting in the selection of most beneficial alternatives.

In order to design and realise an effective public policy process in Libya alternative the alternatives available should be analysed. Computer-aided multivariant design requires the availability of the tables containing the data on the interconnection of the elements and the solutions made as well as their compatibility, possible combination and multivariant design.

Since the requirements of 3PLR system users often vary the initial design data and, consequently, the results obtained will also be different. Therefore, the requirements of the stakeholders are expressed quantitatively and provided as the initial data for calculations. These data should be related to the other information of the tables. Based on the above tables of multivariant building design possible alternatives are being developed. When using a method of multivariant design suggested by the author until 10 million public policy process in Libya alternatives may be obtained. These alternatives are checked for their capacity to meet various requirements. Those which can not satisfy these requirements raised are excluded from further consideration. In designing a number of alternatives of public policy process in Libya the problem of significance compatibility of the criteria arises. In this case, when a complex evaluation of the alternatives is carried out the value of a criterion weight is dependent on the overall criteria being assessed as well as on their values and initial weights.

Model-base

Since the efficiency of a public policy process in Libya alternative is often determined taking into account external, financial, technical, institutional, administrative, social, political, economic, cultural and other factors a model-base of a decision support system should include models enabling a decision maker to do a comprehensive analysis of the alternatives available and make a proper choice. The following models of model-base are aimed to perform this function:

- Statistical analysis module.
- Model for measuring actual achievement of government.
- Model for measuring consequences of implemented policies.
- Model for writing periodical reports about government activities and achievements.
- Model for assessing overall effectiveness of implemented policies.
- Model for prioritising implementing programs and alternatives.
- Model for analysis of existing economic and social situations and setting up priorities.
- Model for determining the initial weights of the criteria (with the use of expert methods).

- Model for the criteria weight establishment.
- Model for multiple criteria analysis and setting the priorities.
- Model for multivariant design of a public policy process in Libya,
- Model for determination of alternative utility degree.
- Model for providing recommendations.

Based on the above models, a 3PLR system can make until 10 million public policy process in Libya alternatives, performing their multiple criteria analysis, determining utility degree and selecting most beneficial alternative without human interference.

According to the user's needs, various models may be provided by a model base management system. When a certain model (i.e. determining the initial weights of the criteria) is used the results of the calculations obtained become the initial data for some other models (i.e. a model for multivariant design of a public policy process in Libya, a model for multiple criteria analysis and setting the priorities), while the results of the latter, in turn, may be taken as the initial data for some other models (i.e. determining alternative utility degree, providing recommendations, etc.).

A management system of the 3PLR model base provides the user with a model base allowing him/her to modify the models available, eliminating those which are no longer needed and adding some new models linked with the existing ones.

The more alternatives are investigated before making a final decision, the greater is the possibility to achieve a more rational end result. Basing oneself on possessed information and the 3plr system it is possible to perform multiple criteria analysis of alternatives components and select the most efficient versions. After this, the received compatible and rational components can be joined up into alternatives. Having performed multiple criteria analysis of alternatives made up in such a way, one can select the most efficient ones. Strong and weak sides of investigated alternatives are also given an analysis. Facts of why and by what degree one version is better than the other are also established. All this is done basing oneself on conceptual and quantitative information.